

IN THESE TIMES

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THE INSIDE STORY



German police photograph those in attendance at the funeral of a terrorist.

Schizophrenia hits German leftists

By David Moberg

Recently I had a chance to talk with a number of West German leftists, most of them heirs to the "new left" who had not embraced either the Social Democrats or various Stalinist and Maoist groupings. I was quickly reminded of how otherwise powerful theoretical abstractions fail to capture the politically crucial cultural distinctiveness of each nation.

I was struck above all by the recurrence of at least two themes: a preoccupation with the power and the role of the state and a disconcerted, saddened confusion about the precise character of the hoped-for new society. Many seemed to be asking, "Is there a socialism possible that goes beyond the obvious and unappealing limits of existing socialist societies?"

Much of the pessimistic reflection was triggered by the growing conflict in Indochina among presumably fraternal socialist societies, but it was more pervasive than that. For example, the women's movement in Germany, and the left generally, is now "like a concert, but the parts don't fit together any more," Ursula Krechel, a feminist poet, activist and author of a book on the women's movement, said.

Some activists, immersed in "normal life," become the equivalent of social workers. Others, separated off in their alternative culture communes, battered women's shelters, magazine offices or left bookstores, conduct a fragmented politics that yearns for a "cultural revolution" yet is disconnected from the culture to be revolutionized.

Goals unclear.

Even the goals of the would-be revolution aren't entirely clear. "At first there has been so much talking about women's oppression, we couldn't stand it anymore," Krechel said about a women's group in which she participated. "So we asked: what did we really want? Then there was a silence, such a big silence. It was so hard to find out what we really wanted to do with our lives."

Some young women, given strength by the movement, now even advocate a "culture of motherhood." That evokes troubled thoughts about the peculiar kind of autonomy women had under fascism when many men were absent from homes and women were urged to "bear a child for the Führer."

Partly in reaction to the Nazi past and the refusal of many older Germans and of the mass cultural and political institutions to confront that past, the German counter-culture—generally more political than in the U.S.—took on a strong anti-German tone. Finding so little sign of social and class contradiction in booming Germany, they looked outside their culture for models and metaphors—American hippies, Indians, suppressed blacks, third world revolutionaries—and rebelled against modern technology and bureaucracy with a vengeance.

A network of counter-culture institutions—communes, bars, restaurants, publications, bookstores,

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farms, meeting places, coops and the like—flourishes, but the counter-culture remains an island of escape more than a challenge to the dominant institutions. Yet the anarchism of the counter-culture, well exemplified by the "Spontis" (they're "spontaneous"), touches on that sensitive, central issue of German culture: the role of the state.

For deep-seated cultural and historical reasons, Germans are preoccupied with social order. Levels of inflation or strikes tolerated elsewhere are deeply distressing in Germany. Also, since the state is seen as responsible for maintaining order, all social issues become issues of state power and authority.

Initiatives from below?

The historical importance of a strong Prussian state in unifying the nation and initiating capitalist development contributes to that vision of the state standing above civil society and regulating it for the national good. The right demands stricter order and active defense of capitalism; the social democrats want a very orderly reform of capitalism. But there is no room anywhere for initiative from below.

Even state generosity is seen as oppressive. A successful workers' education program run by unions in Frankfurt led by Social Democrats was turned over to the state to permit easier funding. Now the Social Democrats are out of power and the unions have lost an independent means of educating the working class to their political perspective.

Not so incidentally, the Social Democrats lost power largely because they instituted a school reform. It was progressive but brought in by government bureaucrats without any popular pressure or involvement, and it was misunderstood and resented, even by many families that would benefit.

Even a strike, such as the recent steelworkers' strike for a shorter work week, is restrained by Social Democratic union leaders so as not to embarrass the Social Democratic government with a political crisis that a large strike quickly becomes. Also, steelworkers were not well-educated before the strike about issues that grew out of leadership discussions and their own self-organization had been impeded by harsh measures taken in the past toward opposition leaders.

Although a labor movement with a more democratic, rank and file initiative and with less dependence on and deference toward the state might have made for a more militant steel strike, trade union expert Richard Herding thinks that "both the official and opposition labor movement have lost touch with some important things—technology and the environment, armaments and atomic power. Opposition movements fight for better conditions in atomic power plants, but they do not raise the question of the nature of production and technology."

Dual dilemma.

Again, there is the dual dilemma of confronting a well-integrated state, one that in many ways encompasses the labor movement, and constructing a persuasive, coherent alternative vision.

Yet the most crippling blow to the left came in late 1977 after the kidnapping and killing of the prominent capitalist Hanns Martin Schleyer, when the weak traditions of civil liberties in West Germany were ignored in a massive campaign against terrorists and the "swamp" (e.g. universities) in which such enemies of the state—as the embodiment of democracy—were nurtured.

Elisabeth Kiderlin, co-author of *A German Autumn*, said that in that period "the left couldn't react. It had no historical self-consciousness. A lot of leftists saw it as fascism, either old or new. But that analysis turned away

from the real problems. Fascism makes all action legitimate—or else it is a reason to keep quiet, since normal protest is impossible."

Although the government could have fought terrorism with other means, probably more effectively, it employed what Kiderlin called a "technical crisis management." That both shored up support of the government (the actions were enormously popular) and dealt a swift but not deadly blow to the non-terrorist left to remind it of what powers were available at any moment.

Now many leftists experience a kind of schizophrenia, according to one former student leader. On the one hand, the generous state subsidizes leftist cafes and pays for social workers who—walking a tight-rope between employer and constituents—are major organizers of the new *Bürgerinitiativen* ("citizen initiatives") against expressways, urban renewal or nuclear power plants. On the other, there is the punitive state that can spy, detain and interfere with people's travel and work.

The real Germany is both. Prosperous, but tightly controlled, it offers formally democratic institutions but less in the way of popular democratic action and political culture. That is one reason why many leftists now see hope in the citizen initiatives, in the anti-nuclear movement and in the surprising burst of emotional reconsideration of Nazism following the broadcast of *Holocaust*.

Deadened hopes.

Yet they also see a deadening of hopes and emotions as a result of the lingering cloud of politically suppressive action available to the state. "There is a problem for the left and the whole population," Kiderlin said. "There's no outrage. You remember it was worse last year. But its tiring. Everything is normal, but there is a feeling of exile on the left, although most of us didn't go away. The feeling has been interiorized."

"A lot of young people drop out, go away. For them it's not a movement against anything—no, it's a movement against everything, but not for anything."

Squirming under the tight social democratic state with its historic nod to both Bismarck and Lassalle—an iron hand offering welfare, warily watching the authoritarian non-alternatives of eastern Europe, distressed at the shortcomings of the newer socialist states, many thoughtful German leftists take an anarchistic turn, seeing the fight against hierarchy and for autonomy as uniting opposition forces within socialist and capitalist societies.

Even more surprising to me, the visiting American, they often romanticize America as the land of the free an unruly frontier nation that may be outrageous but also seductive in its supposedly chaotic, energetic openness.

As I talked with a former leader of the German student left who delivered a famous, classic anti-American diatribe a decade ago, I noticed two flags lying intimately together—an old NLF flag from Vietnam and the Stars and Stripes. He implied that the inspiration once offered by the NLF had been tarnished in victory, and the evil represented by the U.S. was tempered in defeat.

He urged his former comrades to take note of what could be done in the U.S. with a law like the Freedom of Information Act. He even admonished me as I left not to abandon our right to free enterprise, which he saw as an opportunity to achieve autonomy through projects that could escape control by and dependency on the state.

"Where is socialism?" a wandering, deranged peasant cries out in the midst of crisis in the early part of Bernardo Bertolucci's *1900*. "Where—and what—is socialism?" German heirs of the new left now echo. How can there be social, public control of wealth without the bureaucracy and domination of the state? Good question. ■

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Mideast Treaty: a shaky start



President Carter looks on as Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin put their signature on the Mideast peace treaty.

By Jo Freeman

WASHINGTON

ONLY 16 MONTHS AFTER ANwar Sadat made his ground-breaking trip to Jerusalem, the first peace treaty of modern times was signed by Israel and one of its Arab neighbors. Although it comes after 30 years of fighting and 16 months of negotiating—with the U.S. footing the bill—the Treaty is at best an expression of hope that major remaining differences will be resolved through further negotiations.

The basic exchange of the Treaty is one of land for recognition, of Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state within the borders established by the UN some 30 years ago. Egypt will regain full sovereignty over the Sinai, although there are limitations on its stationing too many troops too close to the border.

In turn, both countries will establish "normal relationships," including "full recognition, diplomatic, economic and cultural relations, termination of economic boycotts and discriminatory barriers to the free movement of people and goods."

It will also guarantee "the mutual enjoyment by citizens of the due process of law."

The details of this agreement are delineated in three Annexes (one of them a map) and an Appendix far longer than the 2000-word Treaty itself. The extensive revisions and last-minute negotiations of the Treaty process are seen in still another addition, the "Agreed Minutes to Articles I, IV, V, VI, and Annexes 1 and 3 of Treaty of Peace," that add further clarification to the phrases used.

Gaza and West Bank.

Yet some of the most important—and uncertain—provisions of the peace are not in the Treaty itself or any of its additions. The most significant of these concerns the future of Gaza and the West Bank. The decision, at Camp David last September, reaffirmed in a March 26 letter from Sadat and Begin to Carter, was to continue "to negotiate continually and in good faith" with "the goal of completing the negotiations within one year."

These negotiations are to "recognize the legitimate right of the Palestinian people and their just requirements." It was also agreed at Camp David that the parties to the negotiations would include Jordan and representatives of the Palestinian people, though exactly who would be considered appropriate representatives was deliberately left vague.

Jordan's staunch insistence to participation in such negotiations appears in new language in the March 26 letter.

The Camp David agreement had confidently stated that "negotiations will be conducted among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza."

By March 26, the new agreement said that Jordan would be invited to join the negotiations, but that "in the event Jordan decides not to take part...negotiations will be held by Israel and Egypt." The letter also stated that the U.S. would "participate fully in all stages of negotiations."

Last-minute additions.

The fact that these negotiations may not go as quickly and smoothly as everyone hopes is evidenced by small last-minute additions by President Carter to the American and Israeli copies of the Treaty. He says, "I have been informed that the expression 'West Bank' is understood by the government of Israel to be 'Judea and Samaria.'"

Symbolic of a process marked by many last-minute changes and unresolved problems was the contrast between the celebrators on the North Lawn of the White House and the thousands of protestors across the street, asserting that for them the Treaty does not bring peace but betrayal.

These demonstrators, mostly supporters of the Palestinians, had their counterparts in Israel where demonstrators objected to Begin's giving up Israeli-occupied land and dismantling Jewish settlements.

As Carter observed in his remarks at the signing, "Just because a paper is signed, all the problems will not go away. ...We have no illusions—we have hopes, dreams, prayers, yes—but no illusions." He added that, "Time and understanding will be necessary for people hitherto enemies to become neighbors in the best sense of the word."

Ironically, both Sadat and Begin struck

Sadat and Begin are more positive than Carter, but see the treaty as a bare beginning. They gave Carter credit for getting this far.

more positive notes than Carter in their remarks, though they too stated that this treaty was just a beginning. Both, but particularly Sadat, gave Carter primary credit for getting this far.

Learn war no more?

All three heads of state quoted the prophet Isaiah's words, "Nations shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Yet these words were somewhat belied by the one agreement not mentioned in the Treaty, the Annexes, the Appendixes, the attached letters of the Camp David "Framework for Peace"—the promise by Carter to provide almost \$5 billion in additional military and economic aid to Israel and Egypt and the projections that the actual amount will far exceed that.

Since Congress must approve this addition to Carter's austerity budget, both Sadat and Begin visited the Hill to lobby on their own the day after signing the Treaty. From available reports, Congress appears to feel that \$5 billion and more is a small price to pay for peace.

While it is not clear that increasing the armed might of two major Mideast powers is the best way to achieve a lasting peace, the two participants in the Treaty signing who received the Nobel prize for peace in 1978 said they would recommend that this year's prize go to the man who facilitated that Treaty by increasing their military resources—Jimmy Carter.

Is a West Bank state possible?

By Ken Giles

The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians over the same piece of land remains the core of the conflict in the Mideast, even after the Peace Treaty has been signed. The future of the West Bank and Gaza will be the subject of an intense year of negotiation. If it leads to a two-state agreement, there will be peace. If it simply legalizes the status quo, the conflict will continue.

After visiting four Arab countries, the Occupied West Bank, and Israel, I am convinced that there is wide support for a two-state agreement (A Palestinian state in the West Bank/Gaza with Israel withdrawing to the 1967 borders).

PLO leaders told IN THESE TIMES that they are ready to create an independent Palestinian state that would live peacefully with Israel; Israeli peace activists said that most Israelis would accept such an agreement if they had guarantees (such as demilitarized zones or peace-keeping forces) for Israel's security.

There seems to be a quiet "cycle of moderation" beginning. Moderates on both sides seek to be heard. On the one hand, there are the PLO leaders:

•Foreign Minister Farouk Kaddoumi: "Once we have our state on the West Bank and Gaza, we will recognize secure boundaries."

•Information Officer Mahmoud Labadi: "We are ready to create an independent Palestinian state in only 22 per-

cent of the land that used to be Palestine: the West Bank and Gaza."

•Research Center Director Sabri Jiriyis: "For several years, the Palestine National Council has affirmed its willingness to create an independent West Bank/Gaza state—we declare it, we mean it, it's our policy."

These PLO leaders stressed that the dominance of Fateh accounted for the PLO's acceptance of the two-state agreement. In the recent Palestine National Council meeting in Damascus, a rejectionist group—George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—was not accepted into the PLO executive committee, indicating the continuing power of Fateh.

The depth of PLO involvement in Palestinian society was demonstrated in visits to their social institutions (schools, hospitals, workshops) in Beirut, Damour and Damascus. One PLO leader called these institutions "a state in embryo."

On the West Bank, mayors Atrash of Bet Sahur, Kawasmi of Hebron, Milhelm of Halhoul (a town now held under strict curfew by Israeli troops), Freij of Bethlehem and deputy mayor Rantisi of Ramallah—expressed unanimous support for a two-state solution.

These views were shared by Israeli peace activists, including Sheli supporter Matti Peled, "Peace Now" leader Shula Koenig, and Citizens' Rights leader Shulamit Aloni. David Shaham, of *New Outlook* magazine, suggested that as many as 80 percent of Israelis would support

a two-state solution if there were security guarantees for Israel.

Moderate gestures among Israelis are not confined to the peace movement. Just a few weeks ago, Foreign Minister Dayan said: "The PLO isn't just the terrorists or the terrorist organization. It's also the civilian part of it. That is to say, the Palestinian refugees. No one, and certainly we, don't think a final settlement of the conflict in the Middle East can be achieved without a settlement of the refugees."

This positive gesture may not promise an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank/Gaza, but it does seem a gesture toward Palestinian-Israeli peace.

Unfortunately, violence continues on both sides. On the day I arrived in Jerusalem, a bomb exploded in the Jerusalem market, and Israel retaliated by bombing a Palestinian refugee camp—Rashidiya—that I had visited only a few days before. The cycle of violence destroys whatever goodwill and trust might be established by the new cycle of moderation.

The U.S. could help. Were it to support moderate forces on both sides, it could help start a positive cycle leading to Palestinian-Israeli peace through a two-state agreement. Despite the violence and rejectionist statements by both sides, there are strong PLO and Israeli voices calling for a peaceful, two-state agreement that could lead to a real peace in the Middle East.

IN THE NATION

TEACHERS STRIKE

New Jersey college teachers strike stops cutbacks

By Joanna Foley

GEOERGE BERNSTEIN WALKED briskly in the warm sunshine on the last day of winter, keeping pace with 15 other faculty members and students at the Clove Road entrance to New Jersey's Montclair State College. Each time a car approached, he stopped to talk quietly with the driver. "I explain the issues of our strike and ask them to make a moral decision about whether to go onto campus," said Bernstein, an educational psychology professor.

"I've had a lot of experience doing this kind of thing in the anti-war movement. If people want to go to campus, I ask them to at least park outside and use the shuttle bus. The administration checks the parking lots to see how well our strike is succeeding."

The strike by Local 1904 of the AFT's Council of State College Locals was succeeding. Only 20 Montclair teachers out of 480 conducted classes. At least 65 percent of the drivers who approached the Clove Road entrance decided to stay off campus, persuaded by Bernstein's eloquence and cheered on by the picketers.

"We're getting a lot of support," he said. "Some teachers who wouldn't strike for money alone are out today; the state wants to remove the academic freedom and textbook selection clauses from our contract. And there's student support, too. Perhaps this year's tuition hike changed students' feelings about the state."

Student support abounded at the picket line in front of the college's other main entrance. Students outnumbered faculty and together they formed a cheerfully militant barrier against entry. Robert Browning, Montclair strike coordinator, grinned at the noisy crowd. "To think that Hollander (Chancellor of Higher Education) believed we were going to be apathetic."

3200 teachers picket.

All across New Jersey, AFT's other local affiliates, representing a total of 3200 teachers and non-teaching professionals, picketed vigorously in a strike estimated to be 90 percent effective. The locals closed down Ramapo, William Paterson, Kean, Jersey City, Trenton and Glassboro State Colleges. Stockton, the eighth of the state's senior colleges, was also closed—for spring vacation. "The union did its homework," exulted Anthony Marino, a staff rep, "and Hollander gave us the issues."

New Jersey's AFT made history five years ago when it led the nation's first statewide strike of college teachers (not including professors at the junior colleges and Rutgers, the state university). The modest settlement achieved after the eight-day strike in 1974, however, was as much a tribute to the political clout of organized labor under Democratic governor Brendan Byrne as it was to teacher unity.

New Jersey ranked near the bottom of all states in its support of public higher education then and it continues to rank 47th today. In the intervening years, no other union matched the AFT's 1974 feat, despite the growth of union membership among public employees.

Although unhappy about the need to go on strike again this year, the union was pleased with the demonstration of its growing prowess. "This time we've really closed down all the campuses," said Tony Marino.

Four key issues had led union members to vote 1866 to 519 for the strike. The state angered them with its "takeback" contract proposals that featured a salary increase of only 2.5 percent for the next two years, a heavier workload and a merit pay plan that would increase the power of administrators over teachers.

Academic freedom.

The most controversial "takeback" was the state's plan to remove from the contract two clauses protecting academic freedom and teachers' right to choose textbooks. Some activists regarded this as an unrealistic throwaway threat which the state would retreat from at the bargaining table.

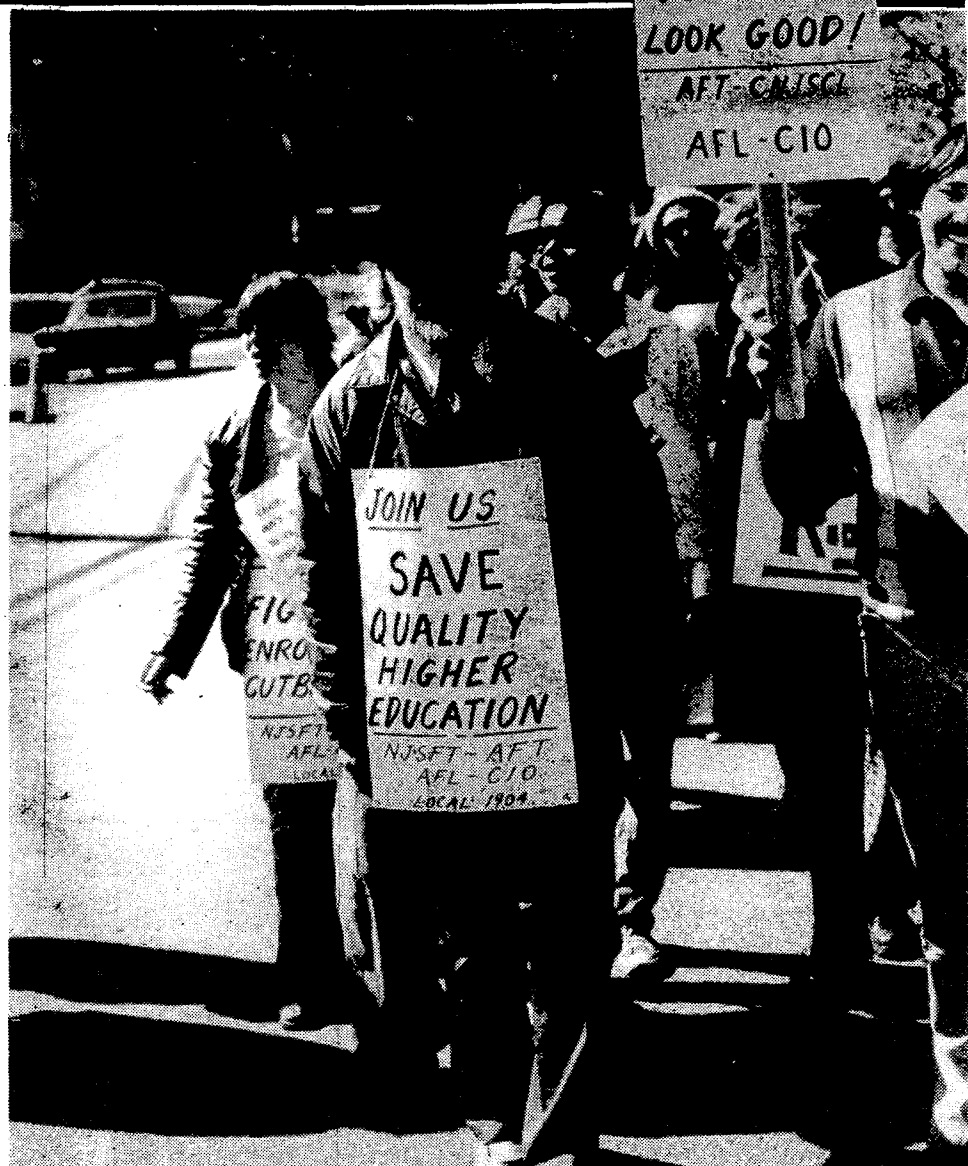
Hollander insisted that the real status of academic freedom would remain unchanged. The clauses would simply be deleted from the contract to comply with the New Jersey Supreme Court's ruling that limits the "managerial prerogatives" over which unions of public employees can negotiate.

"We agree that the state doesn't intend to limit our academic freedom right now, but that could change," said the AFT's Marino. "We think that if it's not in the contract, then it's a right we've lost."

Academic freedom and related issues of who controls the curriculum and chooses the books are becoming increasingly controversial in private schools such as Boston University as well as in New Jersey state colleges.

Declining enrollments.

At the heart of the problem are declining enrollments, say educational administrators; fewer students and lower income for the school results in the need to apply business standards of cost effectiveness. They argue that, when teachers gain the protection of unions, they must give up



Teachers picketing at Montclair State College, Montclair, N.J.

A total of 3200 teachers and non-teaching professionals picketed vigorously in a 90 percent effective strike to close down six campuses.

their traditional "managerial prerogatives."

But in New Jersey, at least, enrollments are not declining; they increased by 1 percent in each of the past two years. Some activist teachers worry that the state will begin to cut enrollments to save money, a step they oppose because it would deprive minority and poor students of the chance to attend college.

The union itself presently takes no position on cutbacks. However, teachers of all persuasions showed, during the strike, that they will fight to retain their academic freedoms.

Unity rapidly fell apart early on the second day, however, when the union leadership presented a contract settlement for discussion and ratification. On the crucial salary question, the state's offer of a 7 percent yearly increase across the board immediately divided senior and junior faculty because it disproportionately rewarded the better paid group. A \$28,000 full professor would gain \$1,960 while a \$12,000 instructor could expect only \$840.

Fosters divisiveness.

"This offer fosters divisiveness," said a teacher at a meeting in a Montclair church. "One of the biggest injustices in the state college system is the disparity between senior and junior faculty." A married man with three children complained, "Compared to the last contract, most of us are 5 percent behind."

James Keenen, president of the Montclair local, defended the state offer by pointing out that the faculty was being spared an increased workload and would gain "the maximum we could get without an extensive strike." He said the state claimed it could not exceed the 7 percent guideline for wage increases without risking loss of federal funds.

"But there are other ways to divide up

a 7 percent package," insisted one woman. "How about a smaller percentage plus a lump sum of \$1,000 for each person?"

On the academic freedom and textbook issues, the union claimed victory. The state agreed to retain the present contractual clauses, although they will be moved to an appendix of the contract. However, Keenen failed to explain that appendix provisions are not enforceable by binding arbitration as are provisions within the body of the contract.

Useless appendix.

Sociologist Peter Freund deduced that the new location for the academic freedom provision was suspect: "We all know what the appendix does for the human body—nothing!" The clauses may be returned to their former place in the contract when the state legislature decides what "managerial prerogatives" can be negotiated with public employee unions.

The state won on the issue of merit pay. The union leadership was satisfied that at least the faculty will have some say in deciding how to award increases out of the \$200,000 special fund.

"The problems with merit plans," however, according to Paula Struhl, strike coordinator of Paterson's Local 1796, is that "we'll have 30 raises for a staff of 440, which will lead to competitiveness and backstabbing."

Union leaders drew a chuckle when they reported that the health care package would now pay \$5 more for eyeglasses. And despite the dissatisfaction expressed by younger teachers at the ratification meetings, the settlement was adopted "overwhelmingly," according to the union. The exact vote was not reported, but the margin in favor was said to be 10-1. "It's a little like Nixon's election," said one activist. "You can't find anyone who voted for him, but he won. It's the same for this contract."

NEW YORK CITY: FORUM

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE 1930's and 40's

Perspectives and Lessons

with

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KANSAS CITY ELECTION

First Republican mayor in 50 years



Richard Berkley and his wife Sandy at his election victory party in Kansas City.

By Ellen Deirdre Murphy

KANSAS CITY, MO.

CAN A DEMOCRAT WITH THE backing of his party, nearly unanimous support of labor and the endorsement of the city's leading newspaper be elected mayor in a city long considered a Democratic stronghold?

Not in Kansas City—not if the candidate is black.

Kansas Citizens last week elected Richard Berkley their first Republican mayor since the 1920s, defeating Bruce Watkins in the most tightly contested mayoral race in recent years.

Watkins, in 1963 the first black elected to the City Council, would have been the city's first black mayor.

The voter turnout of 126,000 was the highest in 27 years. Watkins' overwhelm-

ing support among the city's 23 percent black population concentrated in six inner city wards could not offset a heavy turnout in white areas, which clinched Berkley's victory by 21,000 votes.

Calling the result "a landslide" for Berkley, one black leader commented, "It's enough to convince the black community that the rednecks have come out of the woods. Kansas City is not ready to be part of the 20th century."

The candidates agreed on virtually every campaign issue. They opposed forced busing to achieve school integration, resisted dispersal of low-income housing outside the inner city and supported the ERA in as yet unratified Missouri.

Both favored changes in a controversial fire protection plan that has strained relations between the city and the Fire Fighters Union.

They disagreed substantially on only one question—the phasing out of a 4 per-

A black Democrat loses in a campaign in which race was not discussed. But it was the major underlying issue.

cent emergency utility tax levied in 1968. Berkley, sensing what he termed "public annoyance" with the tax, favored a step-by-step reduction, while Watkins claimed the city could not replace the estimated \$35 per household revenue the tax generated annually."

With little separating them on major issues, each candidate campaigned on his reputation while attacking the other's.

Berkley, citing his ten years on the City Council, called himself "harder working" than Watkins, and "better able to work with all segments of the city."

He deplored Watkins' injection of Democratic Party support into a supposedly non-partisan election.

Berkley, in turn, was characterized by the Watkins camp as indecisive and ineffective, a waffler and a fence-straddler. Watkins' offensive was joined by the Kansas City *Star*, which labeled Berkley "not to be trusted."

In a free-spending campaign, Berkley, a wealthy manufacturer, spent close to \$300,000. He maintained three campaign offices, and blitzed radio and TV with advertisements.

Watkins, a 55-year-old mortician, worked out of a storefront in a small shopping center on the city's East Side.

He spent \$53,000 before the February primary, and \$100,000 afterward, in a campaign characterized by handshaking trips to local churches, shopping malls and restaurants.

Watkins received support from Vice President Walter Mondale, Sen. Thomas Eagleton, Gov. Joseph Teasdale and Kansas City's lame duck Mayor Charles Wheeler, whose bid for an unprecedented third term was rejected in the primary.

The key issue, if unspoken, was race,

with little notice paid to Berkley's Jewish faith. Watkins ran as "a candidate who happens to be black," counting on a moderate political stance, his Democratic affiliation and endorsements from labor leaders to draw white support in a city where unions have considerable clout. Watkins was a strong opponent of a Right to Work law, the only one of 13 City Council members to take a position on that issue.

Yet, perhaps offsetting his attempts to reach out to white voters, he had been identified with "black issues" throughout his political career.

Watkins, co-founded Freedom, Inc., a non-partisan political organization long partial to the Democratic Party. Freedom has made itself a political power base in Kansas City's black community by controlling, according to Watkins, 25,000 to 30,000 votes.

Berkley's victory was welcomed by business leaders wary of Watkins' pledge to "hustle the hell out of Washington." As one banking executive told the *Star*, "because he's a Democrat, the starting point for a Watkins administration would have been to see what they could [get from] the federal government. The starting point for a Berkley administration would be the business community, because he's a businessman himself and well-connected."

The new mayor thinks he will have no trouble unifying a city that has always been racially divided. "For a few weeks afterward, there will be an emotional reaction, but I think it will be short term," Berkley told in *THESE TIMES*. "This is a mature city."

But a Watkins backer was less optimistic. "I have seen a momentum [in the campaign] that has cut across economic, religious and social lines in the black community. I don't think you can stop that momentum."

"I had hoped the Heart of America could show it had a heart," a saddened Watkins told followers election night. The man who called politics "the way to surmount the insurmountable" had found a few too many obstacles in Kansas City. "Maybe it takes a little longer in some places. Maybe it takes more money and a different color to win."

WEBER PROTEST

Hatcher tells Steelworkers Weber case a threat

By Frederick Stern

GARY, IND.

A STANDING - ROOM - ONLY crowd of more than 500, mostly steelworkers, attended a meeting on the forthcoming Weber decision March 14 at Gary's newly re-opened Sheraton Inn Hotel, across the street from City Hall. The meeting was initiated by Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, and by director James Balanoff of District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America. In addition to Hatcher and Balanoff, featured speakers were Bernard Kleiman, general counsel of the USWA and Rutgers University law professor Arthur Kinoy, who had helped to draft a friend-of-the-court brief in the case on behalf of the Affirmative Action Coordinating Center of New York in the case. Co-sponsors of the meeting were the Gary branch of the NAACP, the Thurgood Marshall Association, and the Calumet chapter of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union.

Balanoff opened with a careful discussion of the importance of the issues in the case, and a call for unity of steelworkers in assuring the continuation of affirmative action in the industry. Hatcher drew a dramatic picture of the serious effect on

minorities and women an adverse decision in the Weber case might have. He brought the crowd to chanting and clapping agreement when he commented that though the Court might decide the Weber case, the final judgment about affirmative action would be the people's. Reminding the audience of previous struggles in the civil rights movement, Hatcher received a standing ovation when he called for militant and united support for affirmative action.

Kleiman discussed the specific issues of the case, pointing to the relationship between the Steel consent decree and Weber. The agreement between the Kaiser Aluminum Corporation and the steelworkers made possible not only the advancement of minority workers, he pointed out, but of all workers. Prior to the agreement, crafts jobs had usually been filled by the Kaiser Corporation from outside the plant's labor pool. As a result of the agreement, both black and white workers were to be drawn from the plant for training.

Weber would not have been in a position to receive a promotion if the agreement he is now challenging in the courts had not been made. Kleiman's main thrust, however, had to do with the conservatism of the Nixon years, during which, he suggested, "we got off the



Arthur Kinoy addressing the Steelworkers conference.

track" in not keeping a united labor and civil rights movement which would have prevented Nixon's "packing of the court" with conservative justices. Kleiman repeatedly said that he was not laying blame on anyone, but that the restructuring of that unity was crucial. The meeting, he suggested, was an important indication

of the possibility for such unity.

Kinoy's speech was a fiery and dramatic lesson in constitutional history, which pointed out that the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Amendments to the Constitution in providing rights for black people had provided rights for all people. The attack on affirmative action, Kinoy said, was an effort on the part of the powerful and big business to shift the burden of increasing economic crisis to the backs of the workers. The people are the defenders of the Constitution, and the unity and interest displayed at the meeting, and its co-sponsorship by labor, civil rights and civil liberties groupings pointed to the possibility of united action to safeguard the constitutional provisions that flowed from the post-Civil War amendments, he said.

The meeting concluded with calls from the floor for marches and demonstrations and other united political action to assure a favorable decision on the Weber case.

Two weeks after the Gary meeting the Women's Caucus of USWA District 31 held a picket line around the Federal Court House at Dearborn and Jackson streets in Chicago. The caucus said it views the Weber case as the biggest court battle yet over job rights for women and blacks.

ARMS AND THEIR USES

Carter reneges on arms reductions

PART II

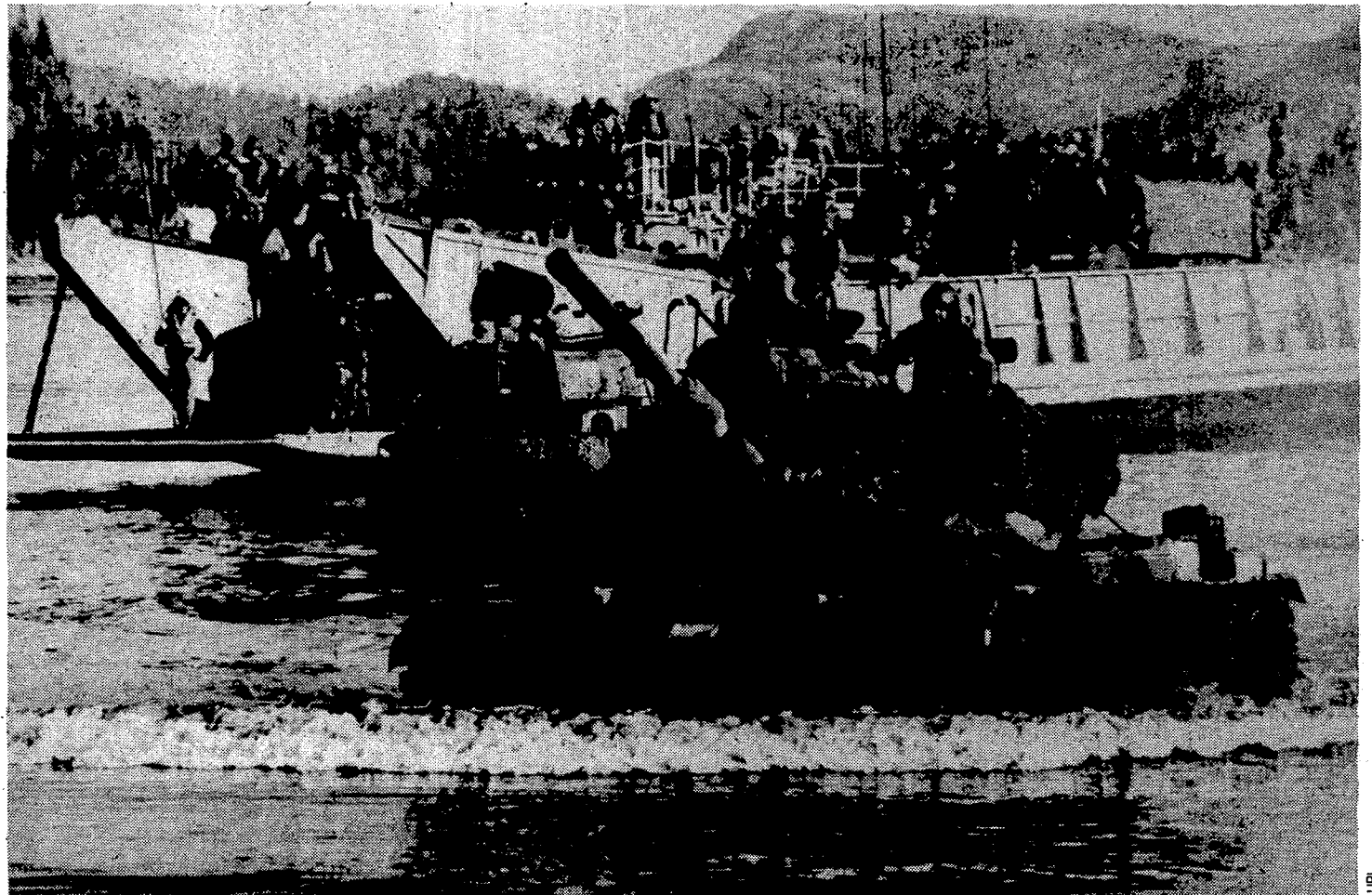
By John Judis

WASHINGTON

IN THE WAKE OF THE SINO-SOVIET split, the American defeat in Vietnam, and the Soviet achievement of military equality with the U.S., American foreign policy planners have been casting about for a new global strategy. Two schools of thought have emerged. One is identified with UN Ambassador Andrew Young and former arms control head Paul Warnke. It contends that the U.S. can use its economic superiority and democratic idealism to turn the tide in the Third World without resorting to military intervention or alliances with anti-Communist dictators. It sees the Soviet Union as a cautious, troubled giant that can be brought not only into arms control negotiations, but eventually into the world capitalist system itself.

The other school of thought, identified with veteran defense planner Paul Nitze and Sen. Henry Jackson (D-WA), maintains that the USSR is a hostile revolutionary power bent upon world domination by any means necessary, including nuclear war. The Nitze/Jackson school charges that the Soviet Union has already achieved military superiority and is using the SALT talks to hamstring American efforts to catch up. It argues that the U.S. cannot afford to abandon or even criticize its friends in the world, whether in South Africa or Argentina, and that America should raise its levels of defense spending and global aggressiveness.

Just after the Vietnam war, the Young/Warnke policies seemed to have the upper hand. President Carter brought many critics of the war into the State Depart-



A U.S. Marine tank comes ashore in Norway during NATO forces amphibious landing exercises last September.

ment, including Anthony Lake and Richard Holbrooke. Presidential Memorandum-10, submitted in July 1977, reportedly took the Young/Warnke line on the Soviet Union and the Third World. Carter's human rights policy, however equivocal its commitments, encouraged opponents of the Shah and Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. His Africa policy raised the hopes of black revolutionaries in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

But in the past year, the neo-Cold War counteroffensive, led by Nitze's Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) has made a powerful comeback.

Public opinion has begun to shift on defense and the Soviet Union. In July

1969, polls showed 52 percent of Americans thought the U.S. was spending "too much" on defense, 8 percent "too little," and 31 percent "just enough." By December 1976, 30 percent thought "too much," 28 percent "too little," and 42 percent "just enough."

By November 1978, the anti-militarists had been routed: only 9 percent thought "too much," 52 percent "too little," and 39 percent "just enough."

There was a corresponding change in opinion on comparative U.S.-Soviet strength. By November 1978, only 15 percent thought the U.S. is stronger, 43 percent that it is weaker, and 42 percent thought the two countries equal.

The shift in public opinion has been matched by a shift in policy away from the Young/Warnke school. The overall defense budget for 1980 calls for a 3 percent increase, after inflation, and a much larger real increase for weaponry. Funds for the controversial MX missile were included in a special supplemental request to the 1979 budget. The Defense Department officially re-introduced, with new emphasis, James Schlesinger's theory of counterforce and limited nuclear war.

The 3 percent solution

During his 1976 presidential campaign, Jimmy Carter vowed to cut the defense budget. "Without endangering the defense of our nation or our commitments to our allies, we can reduce the present defense budget by about \$5 to \$7 billion annually," he wrote to the Democratic party platform committee in June 1976. Carter had been a "hawk" on Vietnam and had supported Henry Jackson against George McGovern in 1972, but prior to his presidential run, he had fallen under the influence of more moderate advisers.

Since taking office, Carter has moved closer to the Nitze/Jackson school because, he claims, of a commitment made by NATO nations in a June 1977 meeting to increase defense budgets 3 percent annually.

The significance of the NATO agreement, as former NATO head Gen. Alexander Haig acknowledged in a June 1978 interview, was "political and psychological rather than purely war-fighting." It came as Communist parties contested for power in France and southern Europe and as economic differences threatened to divide the alliance.

It also reflected the convergence of different strategic priorities. The U.S. didn't want to be committed unalterably to a nuclear defense of Western Europe. It wanted NATO to improve its conventional deterrent, and the European members to shoulder more of the burden. European NATO nations, for their part, preferred increases in conventional arms to a possible German nuclear capability.

The agreement was not in response to any immediate threat from the Warsaw Pact countries. There is "no likelihood of a Warsaw Pact invasion across the Central Region boundaries," Haig admitted. If there was a threat, it was in the Mideast, where NATO troops could be air-lifted.

Another phony arms scare

Opponents of SALT II claim that the Soviet Union has achieved or is about to achieve military superiority over the U.S. The Carter administration rejects claims of Soviet superiority, but nevertheless cites trends that, unless reversed by substantial defense spending increases, would lead to Soviet superiority. The gap in Soviet and American defense expenditures cannot continue, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown warns in his 1980 Posture Report, "without a dangerous tilt in the relevant balance of power."

A Soviet build-up has occurred, but its relevance to American military strategy remains unclear.

Fall-out from missile crisis.

Before the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev emphasized civilian industry over defense and relied on bluff to convince American defense planners that the Soviet Union was stronger than it actually was.

After Khrushchev's ouster in 1962, the new Soviet rulers, Alexei Kosygin and Leonid Brezhnev, began a crash program that raised defense spending after 1964 by an annual average of 3-4 percent. Since 1966, the ICBM balance has shifted dramatically. While the Soviet Union had only 250 compared to a U.S. stockpile of 750, today they have surpassed the U.S. in these weapons.

The U.S. also had a four-to-one lead in nuclear warheads in 1972, but the Soviet Union now has approximately 4000 warheads to 9000 for the U.S.

Soviet and Warsaw Pact conventional forces have always been at least equal in numbers to U.S. and NATO coun-

terparts, but from 1964 to 1978, Soviet conventional forces increased 21 percent. By 1978, tanks in northern central Europe, Soviet and Warsaw Pact countries outnumbered U.S. and NATO tanks by 20,500 to 7000.

These figures seem to indicate that SALT opponents and proponents of higher defense spending are right.

Quality over quantity.

But arms control advocates present a different picture of the Soviet build-up. They contend that the Soviet advantage in ground-launched ICBMs reflects an overall *disadvantage*. In 1967, arms control expert Fred Kaplan noted, in *Dubious Spectre*; that the U.S. had stopped increasing its ICBM force and was concentrating instead on its submarine force (SLBMs) which is invulnerable to attack, and on the development of multiple-independently-targeted-warheads (MIRVs), which could be placed on the land, submarine, or air-based ICBMs. These warheads are more accurate, capable of destroying a Soviet missile-silo.

Because the Soviet Union lagged behind the U.S. in developing solid fuel, it had to emphasize expanding its ICBM force and building large individual warheads.

The U.S. continues to have an overwhelming edge in the number of warheads, their accuracy, in submarine and air-borne nuclear forces, and in such arcane but crucial future realms as anti-submarine warfare. Carter administration member Barry Blechman, formerly of the Brookings Institution, acknowledges this edge in *The Soviet Military*

and *U.S. Defense Spending*. "Soviet missiles may be larger and more numerous," Blechman says, "but U.S. missiles are more accurate, more combat-ready and more efficient."

Since the border conflicts with the Chinese, Soviet conventional forces have increased greatly. Since 1964, new Soviet divisions (10,000 to 13,000 troops to a division) have been stationed on the Chinese border. In addition, five divisions that entered Czechoslovakia in 1968 have remained there.

Rep. Les Aspin (D-WI) estimates that 45 percent of the real growth of Soviet defense spending from 1967 to 1977 went to the China border, while only 15 percent was NATO-related.

Motives aside, Soviet conventional forces remain at a disadvantage. As the Boston Study Group points out in *The Price of Defense*, only the U.S., with its superior navy, submarine force, transport equipment, and allied launching areas, can conduct ground warfare on a global scale. The USSR can only use its troops in areas adjacent to the Soviet Union.

American and NATO forces are more combat-ready and generally more trustworthy than the Soviet-Warsaw Pact forces. U.S.-NATO anti-tank capabilities more than make up for the Soviet advantage in tanks.

These comparisons suggest rough equality, with a slight U.S. edge. If these comparisons are correct, then the U.S. is again in the grips of a phony arms scare, conjured by the advocates of a more aggressive American military posture.

—John Judis

Even moderates like Brookings Institution arms expert John Steinbruner have questioned the need for a 3 percent increase. "The 3 percent figure was a substitute for a deeper understanding," Steinbruner told me.

But Carter was willing to use the NATO commitment and a Soviet threat to Western Europe to justify a 3 percent increase in the 1980 defense budget.

Hidden choices.

But a wide gulf exists between the 3 percent NATO commitment and the specifics of the 1980 budget. The NATO agreement did not stipulate how each country would implement the increase. In some member countries, the NATO budget comprises nearly the entire defense budget. In the U.S., with its global commitments, NATO takes only a part. In implementing the 3 percent agreement, the U.S. could either increase NATO-related spending or total outlays by 3 percent.

In the 1979 budget, Carter claimed to increase NATO-related spending by 5 percent, while cutting other parts of the defense budget, including outlays for strategic nuclear weapons.

But in the 1980 budget, Carter bowed to Pentagon and CPD demands for a general increase in the defense budget, including the budget for strategic nuclear weapons. With spending on personnel being held to federal 5.5 percent guidelines, which will be less than the inflation rate and therefore amount to a real decrease, the rest of the budget can climb well above a 3 percent real increase.

Weapons procurement as a whole is scheduled to enjoy a 6.6 percent real increase; Air Force missile procurement is up 37 percent; strategic nuclear weapons as a whole is up 12 percent.

Congressional critics have tried to pin down the administration on the relation between the NATO commitment and the 3 percent increase, but with little success. Rep. Les Aspin (D-WI) relates how in 1971 and 1972, when the American NATO commitment was under attack, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird assured Congress that NATO amounted to only 17.7 percent of defense spending. "Now, when the Pentagon wants to increase the entire defense budget on the basis of a NATO commitment," Aspin said, "it appears that virtually everything in the defense budget is related to NATO."

When I asked a Pentagon budget analyst what part of the budget would go for NATO, he admitted, "We don't know what we spend for NATO *per se*. It is like being asked what percent of the money the city of Chicago gives to its fire department goes for fires on the South side."

A SALT-free diet?

In Carter's inaugural address, he said he hoped that "nuclear weapons could be rid from the face of the earth," but as with his pledge to cut defense spending, he has moved steadily away from his campaign commitments.

In March 1977, Carter made a new SALT II proposal to the Soviet Union that did call for significantly lower limits on nuclear weapons than Gerald Ford had agreed to in Vladivostok in 1974. The proposal also called for halting production of so-called mobile missiles, the Soviet SS-16 and the American MX. But as the Soviets would have borne most of the cuts, they rejected the proposal.

Arms analyst Alan Geyer speculates that "the deep cut objectives were indeed Carter's but the actual proposals were shaped to Henry Jackson's specifications in hopes of enlisting the headline senator as a SALT protagonist."

After that failure, the U.S. and Soviet negotiators returned to the framework of the Vladivostok agreements and seemed to have reached a near-final pact by early 1978.

Applying until 1985, the agreement would limit each side's nuclear launchers to 2250. It would establish a sub-limit of 1200 on launchers for missiles with multiple-independently-targeted warheads (MIRVs). It would also include a protocol that would prevent for three years the deployment (stationing for use) of

mobile missiles or long-range Cruise missiles.

The quotas slightly favor the U.S., since the Soviets would have to destroy some 300 of their launchers and the U.S. would not have to destroy any. In contrast to the Soviets, the U.S. is not in a position to deploy its mobile missiles anyway.

Since 1967, the U.S. has been concerned not with the sheer number of its launchers, but with their accuracy and ability to carry multiple warheads. The Soviet Union, because of technological problems, has had to concentrate on building many missiles with large individual warheads.

Now both sides are concentrating on MIRVed launchers. The Soviets don't mind destroying 300 of their more ancient launchers. And both sides are well below the limit on MIRVed launchers, although the U.S. has a substantial lead.

SALT II's main accomplishment, if ratified, will be to signal a willingness to make more significant cuts during the SALT III negotiations. Even this small effect its opponents have so far bitterly attacked. Carter's unwillingness to sign it before the 1978 elections may have been due to fear of its damaging his party's prospects.

Playing the "China Card" in December predictably offended the Soviets and further delayed signing. If Carter waits until mid-1979, the 1980 elections might be too close for him to chance a Senate debate. "SALT's prospects get worse

every day," said one Senate arms control expert.

The fate of MX.

Opponents of SALT II are grouped in two camps. The ideological right-wingers, led by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC), the American Security Council and the American Conservative Union, argue against any treaty that would acknowledge Soviet-American nuclear equality.

The other camp, around the CPD, is far more important. Its influence is bipartisan and reaches into the board rooms of both business and labor. Through Jackson's role on the Senate Armed Services Committee, it holds a virtual death-grip over the treaty. Carter acknowledged its importance by inviting Nitze and other CPD leaders to a private White House meeting two years ago, where he unsuccessfully sought their public support. In an interview at his Arlington, Va., office, Nitze said that SALT II "doesn't do much for us." But he stopped short of saying he would seek to defeat it.

Nitze and the CPD are more concerned with extracting concessions from Carter in exchange for their support. They are particularly concerned with the Protocol and the MX missile. Nitze was worried, he said, about the survivability of American ICBMs against a Soviet attack. To prevent Soviet superiority (or to achieve American superiority), the U.S. would have to "restore the survivability of our ICBMs." The key to that, Nitze said, is the MX.

MX is the acronym for mobile-experi-

mental missile. According to the latest plan, 300 highly accurate missiles would be shifted among 6000 silos. The Soviet Union would have to attack all 6000 silos to be sure of destroying the 300 missiles.

The MX scheme makes land-based ICBMs virtually invulnerable to Soviet counterforce attacks.

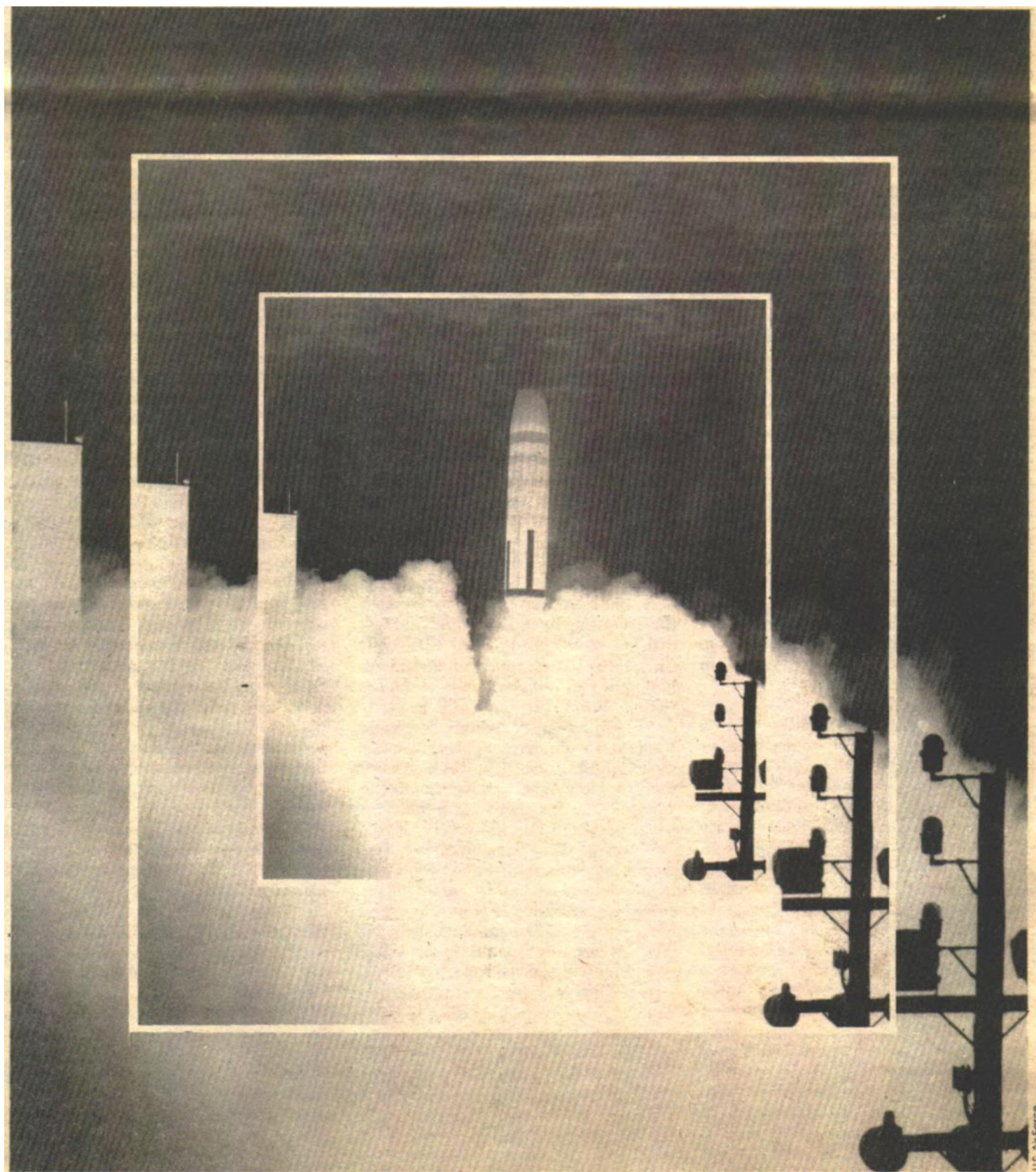
Nitze, Jackson, and the CPD will reportedly support SALT II if Carter guarantees that after the Protocol expires the MX will be deployed.

SALT II concessions

Carter began making concessions to the CPD last fall when he appointed retired Gen. George Seignious to replace Paul Warnke as chief arms control negotiator. The 3 percent real increase in the 1980 defense budget was another concession. But the \$4.4 billion supplemental request for 1979, which included funding to speed development of the MX, was perhaps the most significant concession.

Carter's agreement to deploy the MX would be a serious setback to future SALT agreements. Not only is the MX a counterforce weapon capable of use in a first-strike against Soviet missile silos, by its very nature it also defies SALT verification process. If both sides deploy mobile missiles, neither would know how many weapons were deployed against it, and the technical basis for strategic arms control would disappear.

For the 1980 budget, Carter has acceded to Pentagon and Committee of the Present Danger's demands for an increase in arms spending, including nuclear weapons. This may kill a SALT II agreement.



A C4X-02 Trident missile launched from a flat pad at Canaveral, Fla., Air Force station.

IN THE WORLD

COMMUNISTS IN INDIA



West Bengal's poverty moves it left

By Mervyn Jones

THE PROLETARIANS HAVE nothing to lose but their chains, they have a world to win," runs the slogan on a wall in Shibpur, one of Calcutta's industrial suburbs. You wonder how many people understand it; the answer would be "quite a lot," since there's desperate competition for white-collar jobs and an outline knowledge of English is a necessity. Here, if anywhere, the slogan rings true. Shibpur is a place of acute human misery, even by Indian standards, where a family is lucky to have a mud hut beside an open drain rather than sleeping in the street.

People in Shibpur, by a thumping majority, vote for the Communist Party (Marxist). This party was formed after a 1964 split in the Communist Party of India. The old CPI has since discredited itself by its weak-kneed policies and by supporting Indira Gandhi's spell of dictatorial "emergency" power. West Bengal—a state of 52 million people, 12 million in Calcutta and other towns, the rest in villages—is a CPM stronghold.

After briefly forming a minority government in 1969, the CPM was met by destabilization of the type later familiar in Chile. Mrs. Gandhi then used her over-riding powers to dismiss the state government. But in 1977, the year of Gandhi's fall, the CPM gained solid control of the state Assembly and its leader, Jyoti Basu, became Chief Minister once more.

West Bengal is bankrupt as well as poor. Aging industries have gone into decline; new industries locate only in the booming industrial zone around Bombay. Over a decade, while India as a whole registered 40 percent economic growth, West Bengal experienced a contraction of the same proportions. There are probably four million unemployed in the urban areas alone. Statistics are incomplete, since the CPM government is the first in history to begin paying welfare benefits.

But if the towns are poor, the countryside is poorer still. A laborer on the land can be sure of only three months' work in the year, for which he earns five rupees

(7 U.S. cents) a day. His annual income is likely to be one-third of that of a factory worker. Such a man eats, and feeds his family, no more than once a day. Vegetables grown round the home, and sometimes fish from the Bengal streams, supplement the basic diet of rice.

Sharecroppers.

Slightly better off than the landless laborers are the sharecroppers, of whom the state has millions. A sharecropper has a traditional "right of cultivation" on fields belonging to a landowner, who is normally a more or less wealthy man with property or business interests in Calcutta or some other town. He can keep 50 percent of the harvest; the CPM government has raised this share to 75 percent, but the law is patchily enforced. The "right of cultivation" is a guarantee against eviction and can be handed on from father to son.

But to enjoy his theoretical rights, the sharecropper must be in the official records. Landlords have generally prevented this recording by intimidation, and local officials have been on their side. Unrecorded, the sharecropper can be brusquely told to keep off the fields for the next season. Worse can happen if he stands up for his rights. A sharecropper called Ramdhan Tudu, in Hooghly District, insisted on being recorded, was denounced as a trouble-maker, and was imprisoned without trial for three years under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act.

When the CPM came to power, Tudu was released and started a recording drive in his village. Officials had to do the job, for the government was now on the sharecroppers' side. Fewer than 20 sharecroppers had ever been recorded in that village, but the number was quickly raised to 191.

A regular procedure has been worked out. First, an evening meeting is held at which sharecroppers are encouraged to give the facts of the local situation. Then, officials and sharecroppers walk around the fields, establishing just who has the right of cultivation in which place. After the landlords have been given time to raise objections, the recording is completed.

I went along to a village called Chaturbhujkati with Mr. B.K. Sarkar, Director

of Land Records and the top man in the campaign. Though a career civil servant, he impressed me as genuinely enthusiastic about the task—no doubt the CPM Minister of Lands knows which officials can be trusted. The village schoolroom (roughly whitewashed, it looked to western eyes more like a cowshed) was crowded; practically all of Chaturbhujkati's 253 families must have been represented. By the light of a hissing petrol-lamp, the faces were earnest and expectant.

Sarkar, though he was to act as chairman, sat on a bench in the middle of the room. After he'd outlined the purpose of the meeting, people hesitated to speak. The conviction that anyone in city clothes must be an enemy isn't easily overcome. But after a while, a man produced what he called his "petition" to get recorded. He had submitted it in 1976 but had never heard about it. He said that he had to maintain seven people, old and young, and to supply the plough and seeds for his work. Another man then said that he'd applied to be recorded and was now expecting to be evicted. Another had in fact been evicted from half the land over which he had "right of cultivation." Another—tongues were well loosened by now—said that he'd gone to court, but run out of money for fees before the case was heard. Another man told us that his father had been recorded, but when he died leaving three sons the landlord refused to renew the contract.

Then a man with a bald head and a thoughtful face (bearing a distinct resemblance to Saul Bellow) pointed out that the real enemies of the peasants were their own fears and their ignorance. Landlords were spreading the word that it was contrary to religion to get recorded, and anyone who did would incur a curse. "We have to stay here and go on living with these landlords," he reminded Mr. Sarkar. "We believe the government is helping us now, but we still don't feel safe."

The atmosphere as we walked away was one of hope, mixed with wonderment. One must recall the centuries-old misery and subservience of the Indian peasant to grasp why the experience was so deeply moving. But of course, the recording is only the beginning of the job.

It won't automatically follow that recorded sharecroppers get 75 percent of the crop when harvest-time comes. As a local CPM militant reminded the meeting, relying on even a sympathetic government won't suffice. The peasant unions need to be constantly vigilant to ensure that rights become realities.

Revolution is needed.

A revolutionary change, which West Bengal plainly needs, would do away with landlordism altogether. But when I met Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, he made it clear that his reform program stops far short of creating a socialist society. There are narrow limits to the powers of a state government. Any new law of importance has to be confirmed in Delhi, and in case of a showdown the state government can be dismissed and the region placed under central rule, as Basu already knows to his cost. The Janata government is committed to the principle of extending states' rights, and would find it embarrassing to dismiss a state administration elected with a sound majority. But Basu is playing it cool.

One can best compare the CPM's position, therefore, to that of the Italian Communists in a region like Emilia-Romagna. This is a reform administration offering honest government and social improvements within the framework of a still inequalitarian society. Like Berlinguer, Basu is the target of derision by young people and students who want him to go further and faster.

His position is weaker than Berlinguer's, however, because the CPM's strength is limited to three states and it has no foreseeable prospect of competing for national power. At an important conference held in January 1979, the party decided to launch a recruiting drive in what's called the Hindi belt—the populous states reaching across north India from the Pakistan frontier to West Bengal. At the same time, the West Bengal section of the party was reprimanded for getting too immersed in its reform plans instead of mobilizing the people for ultimate revolution. Revolution is a tall order in India—but if it ever happens, it will be engineered by the CPM.

FRANCE

Despite vote gains the left is in trouble

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE FRENCH LEFT WINS THE elections that don't matter. One year after losing the crucial parliamentary elections, it has just won 55 percent of the vote in nationwide cantonal (township) elections. In between the first and second rounds of balloting, steelworkers converged on Paris for a mammoth demonstration (upward of 100,000) on March 23, which ended in headline-grabbing riots. Elections, demonstrations, strikes and riots are the most spectacular signs of public rejection of the economic "restructuring" being guided by President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Prime Minister Raymond Barre.

But it continues, in the absence of any plausible alternative. When steelworkers recently escalated their protests against factory shutdowns into battles with riot police in the steel towns of northeastern France, one politician accused Barre and Giscard of "leading the country not only to ruin but also to revolution." With the cantonal elections coming up, Jacques Chirac's neo-Gaullist RPR, which has ministers in Barre's government, joined with Socialists and Communists in demanding a special session of parliament to talk about unemployment.

"Pure economic liberalism has no chance of succeeding in France," declared RPR leader Jacques Chirac. "It would mean our watching coldly as whole sections of our industry collapse in order that some day, perhaps, a spontaneous upswing may begin to create new jobs." Other Gaullists blasted Barre for "enforcing the heartless laws of capitalism" instead of using the state to save French industry and protect French workers.

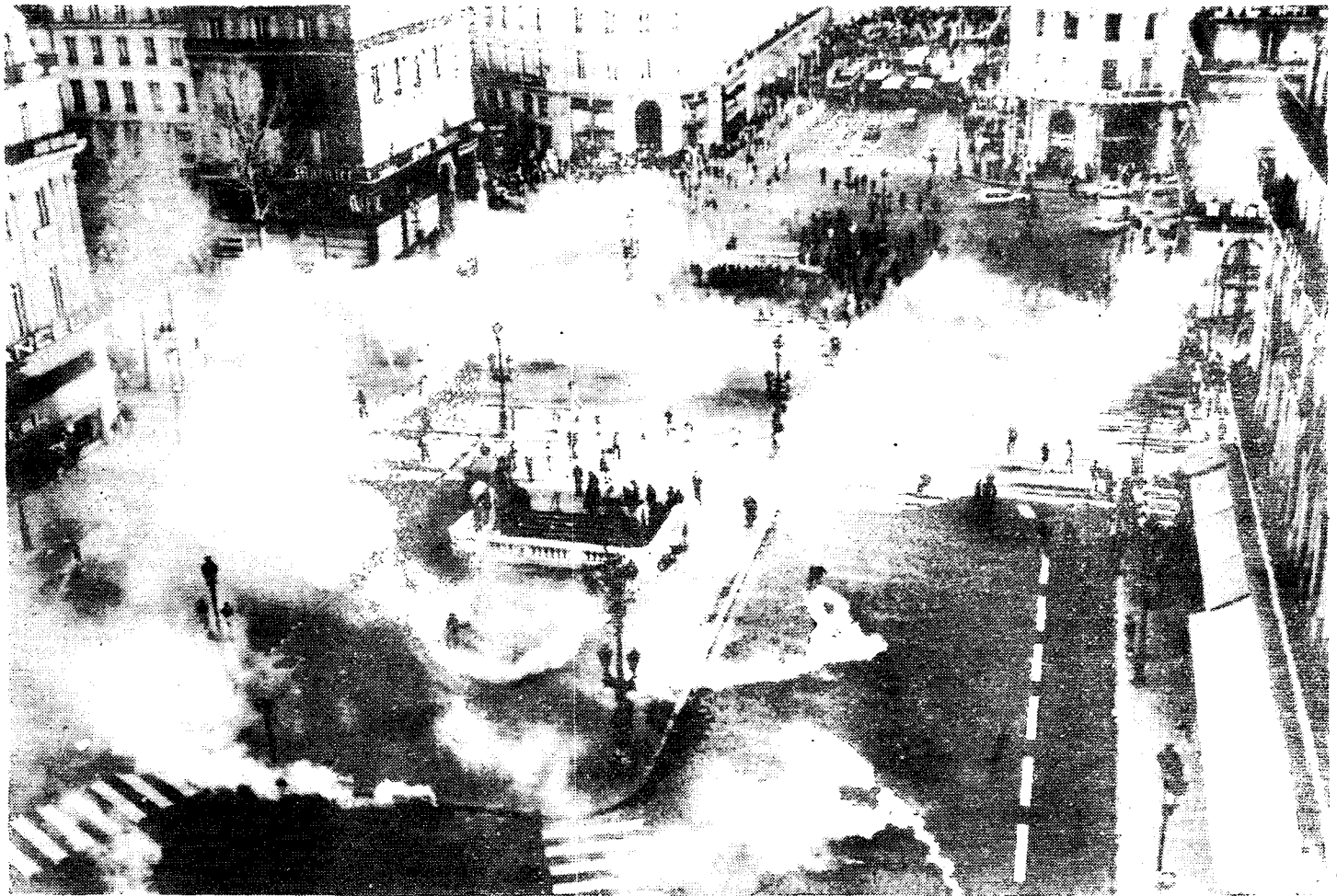
But for all its talk, the RPR was unwilling to put Barre in a clear minority by voting with the opposition on a censure motion, and Chirac's party did badly in the cantonal elections. Since Giscard's skeletal UDR party got 21 percent compared to 12 percent for the RPR, Giscard and Barre could feel satisfied despite the majority of left votes.

The Socialist party again showed up as France's biggest vote-getter, with 27 percent. The Communist party held its own with 22 percent, despite setbacks in traditional strongholds in the greater Paris metropolitan area, where it lost from 10 to 20 percent in some townships. The PCF's campaign against "German Europe" and against Spanish entry into the Common Market paid off in new votes in the steel-producing northeast and the fruit-growing southwest. This protest vote from possibly doomed economic constituencies seems a fragile consolation for the steady erosion of support around Paris. But Barre retains his parliamentary majority and will stick to his guns.

Neither the Gaullists nor the Socialists are ready to reject Barre's argument that France must re-orient its economy towards exports to pay for petroleum imports. Barre's policy aims at building up the amount of investment capital available for such reconversion by increasing the profits of big firms. This is to be done by holding down wages and shutting down the least profitable enterprises. This policy makes perfect sense to French business leaders most involved in international finance and French-based multinational corporations. But nothing obliges capitalists to invest their accumulated capital in France. And when they do, they tend to put their money in high technology industries employing fewer and fewer workers. Unemployment has now passed 1.3 million and is rising steadily, with no end in sight.

Revolt against restructuring.

"People have enough to do besides. You can't just tell them, 'We're shutting down the factories, go move somewhere else'."



Tear gas cans exploding in the Place de l'Opera in Paris March 23 (above). Francois Mitterrand (right).

People in France aren't like Americans. You can't just tell them "We're shutting down the factories, go move somewhere else."



and look for work.' People feel they've a right to stay here. And besides, with the recession all over, where would they go?"

That's what they say in Longwy, the little steel town that became the spark and symbol of revolt against "restructuring" when its workers turned to violence to protest against factory shutdowns. But like Americans, most Longwicians are the children of immigrants, who came to work in the steel plants. First came the Italians, who took a leading role in the labor movement. They were followed by Poles, and more recently by Portuguese and North Africans. Most have assimilated. Portuguese have learned French, stopped going to church and put their savings into little homes that they will be unable to resell if the town is abandoned by its industry.

Two of Longwy's three steel plants are scheduled to be shut down completely, and the third to be cut back by half. This would ruin the town's small secondary industries that service the steel plants, not to mention the shops, whose windows bear signs with crosses announcing their forthcoming demise unless the steel industry is saved.

Longwy, at first sight, seems unified in struggle. But underneath, there are gaping cracks of disunity, first of all between the different labor confederations.

In steel plants, as in all French factories, shops and offices, there is no closed shop, and the trade union confederations must compete with each other, both for members and in elections to the "intersyndicale," the body of union delegates that relays workers' demands to management, bargains, and takes the bosses' offers

back to the workers for approval or rejection. In Longwy, the Communist-led CGT is by far the strongest, with 60 percent of the workers. A very distant second is Force Ouvriere, the anti-Communist union set up with the help of CIA funds in 1948, which discretely supports the government while claiming to be non-political.

The real rivalry, however, is between the CGT and the CFDT, which has only 15 percent of Longwy workers but claims to have become "the most popular" by hatching spectacular *coup de poing* (sock it to them) actions over the past weeks.

CFDT militants got things going last Dec. 9 by occupying the USINOR company's 70-year-old slag heap and putting a big "SOS" on top. The high point in drawing attention came, however, in the early hours of Feb. 24, when police drove workers out of a local television relay station they had occupied. An alarm was sounded over the factory siren, and workers on the graveyard shift came pouring out to join others who got out of bed and rushed to the middle of town. Unable to recapture the television relay, the workers, more or less guided by CGT and CFDT militants trying to stay on top of events, ended up besieging police headquarters and sacking the local Chamber of Industry.

Violence and media.

France is ordinarily the least violent of major industrial countries, and when workers get rough, people wonder if this is the beginning of the revolution. Journalists rushed to Longwy, "even from Japan," the Longwicians say proudly. Journalists are welcome in Longwy.

At CGT headquarters, you are told you have arrived just in time to see a real typical Longwy action. The railroad station is about to be occupied by CGT militants, who are going to stop trains and dump loads of imported steel. Take your camera, there should be good photographs.

Over at CFDT headquarters, you have also arrived just in time. Stick around—you can go along on a raid and even get to clamber over heaps of coal spilled out of boxcars.

To an outsider, these actions all look pretty much alike. But a CFDT raid commander insists that they are quite different. They have different aims. The CGT is "anti-German, against Europe" and thus tries to block German imports. The CFDT commando is "for Europe" but "against the cops and the state."

Some skeptics think none of the unions really knows what to do; they are merely "restructuring" popular anger in rear-guard actions with no strategic prospects.

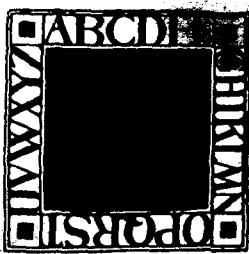
Strikes are ruled out as ineffective against bosses who want to stop production. The unions have thus taken their actions outside the factories so as not to cut into workers' paychecks, but also to attract public sympathy and scare the government. So they are necessarily political actions, aimed at influencing the government in its negotiations with the unions. But to what end?

Old and new workers.

The government has quickly shown willingness to pay a high price—the figure is put at seven billion francs, or some 1.7 billion dollars—to retire redundant steel-

Continued on page 10.

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French left battles for job security

Continued from page 9.

workers with comfortable pensions. The fight is thus no longer for the welfare of those particular workers so much as for the future of a politicized, concentrated and combative working class that they represent. Both the CGT and the CFDT have an interest in preserving the future prospects of that working class, but there are differences in emphasis. The CFDT tends to accept the logic of international restructuring and seek ways to increase the number of jobs within that framework by such devices as shortening the work day and adding a shift. The CGT seems more persuaded that job levels can be maintained only by refusing to cut back the productive capacity of the industry.

The CFT opposes the "Davignon Plan" of EEC Commissioner, Belgian Count Estienne Davignon for cutting back European steel production and restoring an orderly cartel, arguing that France got a raw deal because the French government sold out. France has a trade deficit in coal and steel with other European countries, and Olmy said actions against imported carloads of coal and steel were aimed at obtaining a "balance" in French imports and exports within the EEC.

"The problem is not the Davignon plan," as the Communists pretend, Socialist party leader Francois Mitterrand stressed during a short appearance in Longwy on Feb. 28. "We need a European plan," although a new one brought up to date, he said.

Mitterrand had come to defend the week-old PS steel industry proposals, titled "an ambition for French steel." What is this "ambition"? he was asked. "To survive," answered Mitterrand. Not so ambitious after all. The PS recom-

mends a productive capacity of 31 million tons per year for 1981, compared to the government's figure of 28 million tons.

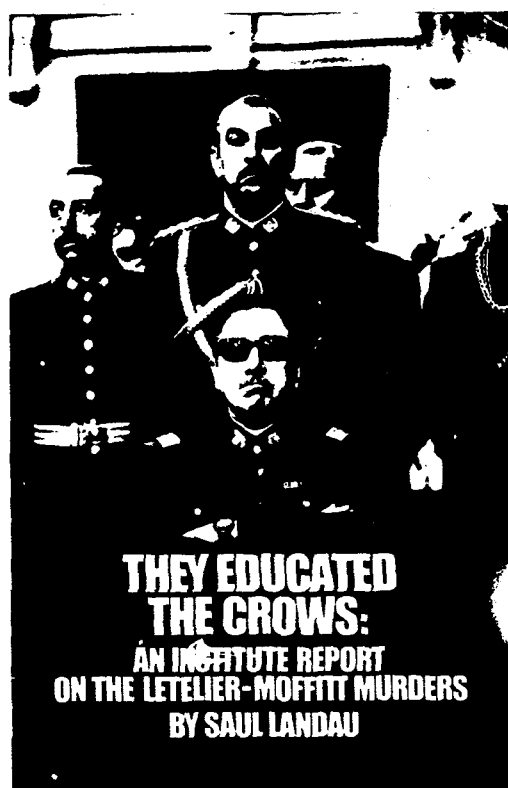
In the northern industrial town of Denain the day after Mitterrand's appearance, workers were battling CRS riot police with iron bars and molotov cocktails. For the first time, shots were fired—an escalation of violence avoided by both sides throughout all the May '68 events. Snipers with rifles wounded seven CRS. The Communist mayor's appeals for order were ignored. Such violent clashes between workers and police had not been seen in France in 30 years.

The USINOR steel firm immediately announced that it was suspending scheduled layoffs until it completed negotiations with union leaders over the future of the industry.

As workers' symbolic violence against property has turned to confrontations with the police, they have been joined by more and more unemployed or semi-employed youths...a growing category in "restructured" France, considered by some a new working class. The possible connections—or conflicts—between the old working class threatened by restructuring, and the new working class created by it, will eventually determine the scope of the current social conflict in France.

Conflicts showed up in the big steelworkers' march on Paris on March 23, organized by the CGT. The CFDT refused to co-sponsor it, accusing the CGT of electioneering for the PCF. But Socialist as well as Communist leaders endorsed it and Mitterrand—apparently suspicious of his rival Michel Rocard's overtures to the CFDT, said the Socialist party would not be a "transmission belt" for CFDT policy. Despite the CGT's tough efforts to keep order, youths from the "autonomy" movement joined the march in Paris and ended it by wrecking storefronts and battling police for hours in downtown Paris. The CGT announced capture of a rioter who turned out to be a policeman and said the *autonomes* were being manipulated to discredit workers' legitimate protests. Andre Bergeron, head of *Force Ouvriere*, concluded that it was irresponsible to hold big demonstrations in the current social climate.

The Institute's Two-Year Investigation of the Assassinations of Orlando Letelier & Ronni Karpen Moffitt



A DETAILED ACCOUNT of the crime, the investigation, the role of the CIA, the organization of the right wing terrorists and the Latin American secret police forces. This report, prepared by colleagues of Letelier and Moffitt traces the threads of the crime to terrorists organized by the CIA and the Chilean DINA. It details the plans for the orchestrated cover-ups and disinformation campaigns by former police and intelligence agents.

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as Uriah Heep. Ads announce "for your consideration," a film; or "Studio X thanks person Y for..." or they simply quote, solemnly, lavish praise from independent sources. Academy members also receive direct-mail solicitations at their homes—brochures, posters and soundtrack albums, among other treats to acquaint them with the product.

It can price you right out of the market, if you're the wrong type. Rita Moreno, for instance, won an Oscar for her role as Anita in *West Side Story*, and for years after lacked roles by being both stereotyped and overpriced. Faye Dunaway's *Network* Oscar raised her price and limited her roles immediately after her triumph.

You can't buy an Oscar—or that almost-as-valuable item, a nomination; but you can try. Academy members do not want to feel bullied, pressured or bought. They can, however, be swayed. This year, in the effort to bend opinion in the proper direction, six major studios paid out an estimated \$300,000 apiece to boost around 25 films into the eye of the average Academy member.

The target audience for that advertising was, this year, 3553 people, voting members of the Academy. They vote, according to the professional branch of the Academy to which they belong, to nominate films in the category appropriate to their profession. (Everyone gets one vote for Best Picture.) Then, everyone votes on all awards from the list of nominations compiled by the branches.

Advertising ostensibly goes to "create an atmosphere in which the Academy membership will want to see the particular film, and also be aware of the public and critical acclaim the film or performance has received before they get to the very serious task of marking their ballots," explained Powell to fellow advertisers.

That atmosphere is created in several ways. One of them is to take out full-page thousand-dollar ads in trade journals. Best Picture ads flower in *Variety*, *Hollywood Reporter* and the *Los Angeles Times*, while each professional publication carries advertising appropriate to it. In the tradition of the Academy, a tone of false gentility prevails; the ads are as unctuous

Academy members are only required to have seen all foreign films before voting; the rest are all a matter of choice and access. Many Academy members in Los Angeles subscribe to cable television, and so some studios bend a prejudice against video to air their films on cable in the months before the awards. Universal is among the few studios that still balk at the idea of wide-screen splendor going on to the small screen; most accept the difficulty of getting socially conservative Hollywood types out of their homes to see a movie if it's not also a social event. An alternative is the common free screening for Academy members, in Los Angeles, Chicago and New York.

Celebrities also hit the advertisements-for-myself trail in the weeks before the Awards. Talk shows, personal appearances, interviews with the appropriate press all attempt to bring the name, the face, the movie and the vote into the same place at the same time. One needn't even necessarily mention the movie; presumably, the success of *China Syndrome* and the national appearances of Jane Fonda on its behalf can be counted toward increased visibility for the favored *Coming Home* in the Awards.

This advertising has an effect difficult to gauge. Although no one will swear that the proper advertising will work, no one likewise will risk not advertising for a likely candidate. If you listen to studio spokesmen, it's a Hobbesian or prisoners' dilemma, in which they cannot not advertise so long as their neighbors do.

Further, studios say they are bound to advertise to please their artists. They are unable, unlike the old "stable" days at the studios, to sew their personnel into tight contracts, and artists demand the advertising. Walter Powell explains that the studio needs to show the artist that "our studio will do as well for him or her as any other studio will do... Even if we lose, we are cementing our relationship with the creative community." The creative community merges, in studio

concern, with a concern to cement good relations with the variety of corporate entities concerned with spin-off profits.

The stakes are too high not to play. But like everything else, it's a gamble. No one can find a direct parallel between films that have been well-advertised, or highly visible box-office hits, and those that have won awards. Last year, *Star Wars*—which won nominations and awards for technical effects—passed go without collecting anything in the way of a Best Picture award; *Jaws*, another box office blockbuster, was similarly slighted. This year, *Superman* follows their example.

Academy members can add as well as anyone else, and every once in a while a dark horse picture wins, precisely because it is small, and more pictures—with less money being spent for each—mean, potentially, more work for everyone. But this tendency works in contradiction to the patterns of the Awards themselves.

Big stakes, small pond.

The Awards can focus needed public attention on an actor or actress, like Jill Clayburgh. They can also draw attention to good films that might otherwise be slighted. In the documentary category, for instance, films like *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, *Union Maids* and *With Babies and Banners* get a national recognition and distribution that seems incredible in light of black-list days when the Academy embarrassed itself by patting nonexistent backs for work done under assumed names. Further, an Award to one film may open up funds for films like it.

But such luck is not the rule. The pool of applicants for the Awards starts out tiny and gets tinier. Most of them are pre-

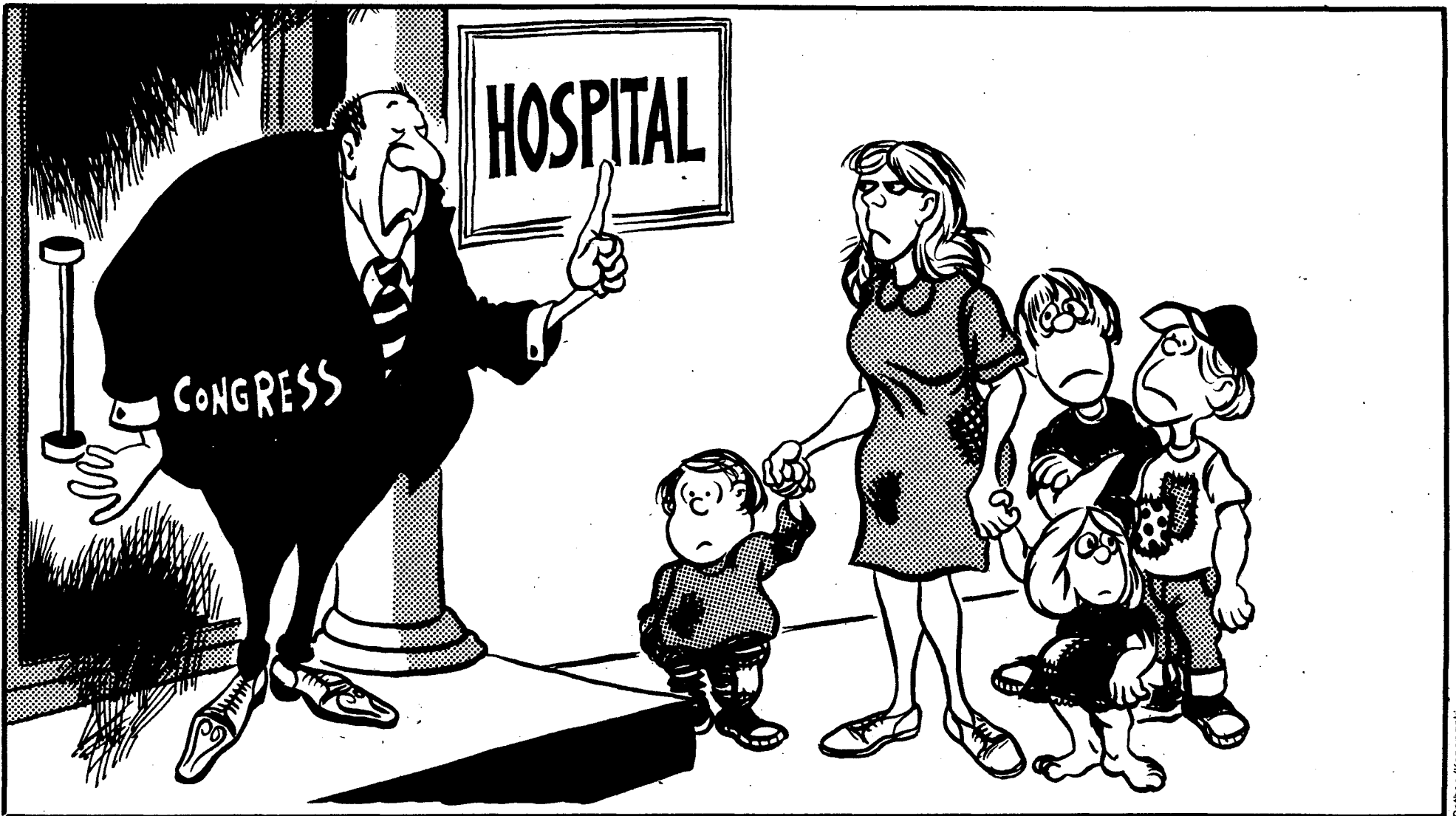
selected to be able to flourish in theaters between February and April, bandying about nominations and blocking other film showings.

As usual this year, many repeaters appear in the nominations. The Ben-Hur of Vietnam films, *The Deer Hunter*, and Warren Beatty's essay in Perrior humor, *Heaven Can Wait*, cleaned up with nine nominations, while *Coming Home* backed them up with eight. Following was racism-under-any-other-name-is-still-racism *Midnight Express* with six nominations; *Interiors* with five; *Days of Heaven*, *Same Time, Next Year* (why?) and *The Wiz* (now there's a testimonial to the power of advertising within the Academy; there can't be an Academy member left who doesn't own a soundtrack) with four nominations each.

This tiny pool of aspirants, and multiple awards for few films, are not new. In fact, it's typical that the Academy focuses on only a few of its own. In 1940 blockbuster *Gone With the Wind* swept the Oscars, taking eight awards. But these days the Academy tradition reinforces a trend toward fewer films, on safer subjects, each with a bigger promotional splash than ever before.

The wonder, then, is not that the lucky few are singled out, but that the Awards recognize any movies that are not safely formulaic. Besides being a love story, *Coming Home* makes a moving antiwar argument; *Heaven Can Wait* gets in its digs at corporate venality; *An Unmarried Woman* was a romance where the woman and her concerns stayed center stage. And Academy members have left supermovie *Superman*, if not in the cold, at least with a bad case of the chills. ■

EDITORIAL



"I'm sorry, but it's immoral to have an abortion, unless you can pay for it!"

Should *ITT* debate abortion?

Should the subject of abortion rights be debated in the socialist press? Is it, as some of our readers maintain (see letters), a subject on which debate is closed, like slavery and the right of workers to organize unions? We would be happy to answer the question in the affirmative: Yes, that debate is now done, we have won the right of all women to choose abortion; no less important, we have won the right of poor women to receive abortions, along with every other kind of medical care.

But the debate is far from over. Among the people, and even among people on the left, debate continues. There are still all too many Americans who have not been won to guaranteeing the right of abortion, much less its public funding. There are still many, who on a whole range of other issues identify with the left, but who, on this issue, have not been won to the feminist position. The right has been able successfully to manipulate and exploit the concerns, doubts, and moral traditions of these people. The issue is one that still requires serious debate, not only in the mass media but in the socialist and left press.

We need to clarify what is at issue and engage directly in debate with anti-abortion proponents for at least three reasons: (1) to win as many of those people as possible to a pro-abortion position; (2) to win them away from right-wing politics; and (3) to sharpen and deepen our own commitment. For these reasons, and to quicken the sense of urgency in the struggle for abortion rights, we believe that this debate should be joined in our own—the socialist—press. Our press should not be a haven from, but a center of, the conflict.

In the process, we hope to demonstrate that militancy is consistent with a commitment to dealing with differences among people by means of persuasion and respect for the people's intelligence and sense of justice.

This is all the more necessary because, as feminists understand, there are many professing socialist and leftist men and

women, including many readers of *IN THESE TIMES*, who have yet to be won to women's equality in its fullest meaning, including the right to abortion.

The response of many of our feminist readers to the debate in the Feb. 28 issue, however, convinces us that we could have exercised greater care in selecting the debaters, in presenting the reasons for having the debate, and in designing its format.

But we believe that whoever the debaters may be and whatever the format, the issues raised would be the same: why the right of abortion is essential to women's equality; why society's interest is not served by coercing women into taking unwanted pregnancies to term; why the tenets of a specific religion cannot be permitted to dictate state policy; why abortion as a medical procedure must receive the same public funding as all procedures; and why those to whom abortion is abhorrent on the grounds of the sanctity of life may not impose that view on others and, are, at the same time, obligated to fight for a society that truly honors the life of every individual by eradicating the sources of inequality, poverty and ignorance.

These, we think, are the fundamental issues, some of which were raised in the Moore-Mulhauser exchange. If we leave the debate to the right, the liberal center and the mass media, we can be sure that all or most of these issues will be obscured or evaded altogether.

If we join the debate in our pages we can make these issues central and educate ourselves and others in their meaning and implications. As long as the conflict is fundamentally unresolved in the public arena, it is crucial that the socialist press be part of that arena in order to attempt to clarify the issues and strengthen the pro-abortion position.

It seems to us, from readers' responses, that our debate contributed to that end, though not as well as it might, by impelling people to take up the issues and argue with conviction. But we regret that much of the response demanded cutting off the debate.

It is argued that by allowing the expression of anti-abortion views in our pages, we give them legitimacy. If legitimacy means the paper's affirmation of those views, or of the vigilant depredations upon medical clinics associated with those views, that is untrue. If legitimacy means that we are contributing to making such views persuasive or intimidating, that is also not true, because it is not ours to give—it already exists. Avoiding debate only insulates us from those who hold those views.

In recent months, in particular, there have been setbacks for abortion rights. In state legislatures all over the country, elected officials are being persuaded by anti-abortion forces centered in the movement against women's equality to undermine even the 1973 Supreme Court decision that simply affirms the right of abortion without governmental interference in the first trimester of pregnancy—for those who can afford to pay for it.

And in Washington, the federal government has cut off federal funding for over 90 percent of those who want abortions. The politicians apparently feel they can get away with these actions because, though surveys show that close to 75 percent of Americans favor the right to an abortion, anti-abortion opinion has been noisy and well organized, and pro-abortion opinion has been less articulate and less organized.

A year ago (July 13, 1977) we wrote on this page:

"There can be no equality before the law in a society that routinely perpetuates poverty for millions and then makes a 'right' [to abortion] contingent upon ability to pay...

"...Life after birth is no less precious than life before birth. Slow death or deformed life through malnutrition, disease, cultural and educational deprivation, is as much an abortion of life as is the premature termination of a pregnancy....

"...we uphold, and ask 'right-to-life' advocates to consider, the inalienable right of women to self-determination in their

participation in the procreation of life—a right that is indispensable to the achievement of sexual equality....

"The abortion question goes to the heart of the great questions of our times. It is a woman's question, a race-related question, a class question. And it is all of these together. The condition of real racial and sexual equality is the achievement of social and economic equality by putting an end to class differences and to the poverty, exploitation and deprivation they perpetuate.

"Respect for life before birth can only be secured by respect for life, and the dignity of every person, after birth."

In that editorial, we also called for "serious dialogue with sincere 'right-to-life' advocates," because many of those who oppose abortion rights "do so out of genuine religious or moral concern for the sanctity of life. 'Socialists,' we said, 'share their concern and respect their pro-life convictions.'"

Our position has not changed, though we hope it has deepened. We are committed to winning the right to abortion and the right of all Americans to receive medical care for all medical problems. We believe that many who oppose abortion, including socialists and leftists, can be persuaded that a woman's right to control her own body is absolutely essential to liberty and equality. And the majority support for abortion rights among Americans encourages us to believe that many minds can still be changed, and that the majority view can be energized, through a reinvigorated debate, once again to take the initiative away from the minority who are now dictating policy.

For these purposes, we have initiated debate and will continue it, just as we will continue (not *begin*, as asserted in one letter) to cover the women's and pro-abortion movements. It is just to say that we need to improve that coverage.

We ask feminists, especially socialist feminists, to help us, by their advice and writings, to deepen and strengthen the debate.

THE ABORTION DEBATE

LIKE MANY OF YOUR READERS, I FIND *ITT* an important source of support, information, analysis and insight. I was shocked, however, to see a debate over the issue of abortion in the Feb. 28 issue. The title of the debate was in effect a moot question: "Does free abortion hurt the poor and minorities?" The fact is, while population "experts" may use racist arguments—such as abortion is less expensive than AFDC—the reality is that male legislators have rescinded the abortion rights of poor women.

As a feminist, I found your "debate" an outrageous insult to women; if we cannot assume that *ITT* supports reproductive rights as a matter of course, what can socialist-feminists expect? The article I would have expected to find in *ITT* is an analysis of why male legislators continue to vote against their own economic interests when AFDC is more expensive than abortion; how forced sterilization of poor women is one way of making up that economic loss; and why the seemingly irresistible desire to control female sexuality overrides racist attempts to control particular racial population growth. These are the issues that require "debate" in the area of reproductive rights for women. Faced with continual backlash against women's rights in the rest of the media, it is deeply disturbing to find similar insensitivity in the pages of *ITT*.

—Ruth Rosen
Berkeley, Cal.

DOES IN THESE TIMES HURT THE poor and minorities? Does *ITT* hurt women? These seemingly smart-ass questions have gained an alarming measure of legitimacy in light of the "debate" recently printed in your independent socialist pages—"Does Free Abortion Hurt the Poor and Minorities?" (*ITT*, Feb. 28). We consider the decision to pose a discussion of women's reproductive rights in such terms a grave political error. It is offensive to feminists and politically destructive to the inseparable causes of economic justice and women's liberation.

One of the most positive aspects of *ITT* has been its non-sectarian commitment to facilitate serious dialogue and debate among people sympathetic to a socialist perspective. But, do you consider it legitimate for socialists with an avowed commitment to feminism to debate whether or not poor women should be allowed reproductive rights equal to

those available to more affluent women? We cannot conceive of *ITT* jeopardizing the rights of workers by publishing a comparable "debate" on collective bargaining—"Does the union shop hurt working people and minorities?"

Yet the same sort of specious logic and evidence that Elizabeth Moore brings to bear in her anti-abortion tract could be marshalled easily in the service on an anti-collective bargaining argument. Elizabeth Moore's article demonstrates the sophistication of the New Right strategy which attempts to build a broad anti-socialist coalition by appealing to humanistic values. Her thinly disguised anti-abortion polemic falsely pretends concern for poor women. By printing it as though it represents a valid position within the left, *ITT* has contributed to the legitimization of the current anti-feminist, new right backlash.

Some of us have been among *ITT*'s earliest and staunchest supporters. Yet all of us are deeply disturbed by this insensitive disregard for one of the most fundamental and non-negotiable demands of contemporary socialist-feminism—free and equal access for every woman to control her own body. Once again the tenuousness of the socialist commitment to women's liberation has been placed in bold type. We await an explanation for the publication of this spurious debate.

—Judy Stacey, Kay Trimberger, Herb Schreier, Jim Hawley, Diane Ehrensaff, David Plotke, Harry Chotiner, Ruth Milkman, Stacey Ollker, Eli Zaretsky, Anne Bernstein, Steve Schneider, Martha Vicinus, Nancy Chodorow, Shelley Rosaldo, Estelle Freedman, Mary Ryan, Gayle Rubin, Artemis March, Barbara Haber, Barbara Easton, Naomi Katz, Ellen Dubois

WE ARE WRITING TO PROTEST IN the strongest terms possible your publication of "Debate: Does free abortion hurt the poor and minorities?" (*ITT*, Feb. 28). We do not wish to refute Elizabeth Moore's "Pro" position (Mulhauser does this well), but rather to protest your decision to publish such a debate at all. Opposition to public funding for abortion is an attack on the rights and freedom of all women, most especially the poor. It has no place in the socialist movement. The position Moore takes is a patently anti-feminist one and comes, as does she, from an openly anti-feminist and right-wing movement.

Elizabeth Moore is a prominent activist in the so-called "Right to Life" movement. At the September 1978

convention to organize the "Right to Life" movement in San Francisco, Moore led several workshops, one of which was on the anti-abortion movement's most vicious new tactic, the harassment of pregnant women as they enter clinics to get abortions.

By sponsoring a debate that includes an article by Moore, *ITT* demonstrates that it, a major socialist journal, does not consider every woman's equal access to abortion a basic right. The publication of this article in *ITT* has given great legitimacy, not only to the opposition to publicly funded abortions, but to the entire anti-abortion movement.

ITT has fallen prey to the new right's increasingly bold strategy of fraudulent "leftism" and spurious "anti-racism," the intent of which is to obscure the political character of the current struggle over abortion and weaken the feminist movement which has defended that right. By publishing Moore, *ITT* gives credence to the idea that abortion rights and feminism are not issues of the poor and perpetuates a false dichotomy between feminism and anti-racism.

We are convinced that the publication of this debate and the legitimization of Moore's position in *ITT* has done great political damage to the women's movement to win full control over our bodies, particularly to socialist leadership within that movement. We demand not only a swift editorial retraction of your error, but extensive analysis of the anti-abortion movement from a socialist feminist perspective (which NARAL does not represent) and continuing, responsible coverage of women's efforts to defend and enlarge their reproductive rights.

Moore has intentionally misrepresented the character of the political struggle over abortion rights. First, she deliberately confuses the abortion rights movement with the population control establishment. While parts of the population control establishment support abortion, the abortion rights movement that has arisen in the last ten years is overwhelmingly a feminist and grass-roots movement. One of its great gains has been to clarify the difference between population control, in which the impetus to control reproduction comes from the state, and birth control, in which women control their own bodies.

There is an important new trend in the abortion rights movement, the reproductive rights movement, that is largely under socialist feminist leadership. Reproductive rights advocates a much broader approach to the limits on reproductive freedom—legal, social, sexual and medical—and does organizing not only for free and equal abortion, but for quality prenatal and childcare, an end to forced sterilization, in both hospitals and workplaces, lesbian custody rights, etc. This reproductive rights perspective, not Moore's anti-abortion movement, defends the interests of poor and minority women. On March 12, 1979, representatives of more than 20 groups, working together as the National Network for Reproductive Rights, met with representatives of NARAL, Planned Parenthood, the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights and other "moderates" in a broad national abortion rights meeting which drafted a plan for a nationwide fall mobilization around reproductive rights, highlighting abortion, but also stressing the issues of sterilization abuse and equal access.

Moore's strategy is part of a more general new right effort to use left rhetoric to obscure the basically reactionary content of its issues ("reverse racism," the tax "revolt," etc.). The anti-abortion movement has ripped off left tactics (sit-ins at abortion clinics), left claims to combat racism (its charge that publicly funded abortions are genocidal), and left history (its analogy of its own defense of the humanity of the fetus with

the abolitionist movement's defense of the humanity of the slave.) Recent polls show that despite the well-funded attacks of the anti-abortion movement, public support for abortion, even among Catholics, continues to grow. It is precisely for this reason that anti-abortion advocates resort to the most fraudulent kind of ideological manipulation. By falling prey to the phony "socialist" arguments of Moore, *ITT* has opened space within the socialist movement for the new right to organize. This decision to publish Moore's article reveals a very disturbing receptivity to anti-feminism in *ITT* and a willingness to compromise the basic rights of women as defined by women, which we expect to see criticized and corrected immediately.

—Susan Stuart, Reproductive Rights Organizing Committee, LA.

—Marilyn Katz, Reproductive Rights National Network, NAM

—Leslie Cagan, Abortion Action Coalition, Boston

—Harriet Cohen, Theresa Horvath, Rebecca Staton, co-chairpeople, New York CARASA

—Meredith Tax, former co-chair, CARASA

—Elizabeth Weston, Steering Committee, Buffalo, CARASA

—Karen Stamm, New York Committee to End Sterilization Abuse

—Alice Wolfson, Committee to Defend Reproductive Rights, San Francisco

—Abby Snay, Steering Committee, National Network for Reproductive Rights

IV

ITT DESERVES CRITICISM FOR publishing a debate on abortion without offering either a feminist or socialist perspective.

While Moore used a number of misleading arguments, we hardly expect better from the anti-abortion lobby. But Mulhauser as a spokesperson for the pro-choice arguments damages the abortion struggle by misinforming your readership. For example, Moore lumped together all supporters of abortion with the population-control establishment, accusing them of trying to limit the birth rate of the poor. Mulhauser failed to challenge this categorization and ignored the many pro-abortion groups that criticize the elitism and imperialism of the population controllers. Furthermore, Mulhauser did not address the worst form of coercive population control, forced sterilization, about which the anti-abortion lobby is silent.

Moore characterized publicly-funded abortion as a form of class oppression. In responding Mulhauser ignored the fact that abortion is a feminist issue. Abortion is a weapon against women's oppression that should not be separated from other things women need—such as contraception, better health care, day care, etc. She also ignored the fact that abortion is a sexual issue, and that denial of abortion funding is an attack on the sexual freedom of women and the poor.

ITT's formulation of the question—"Does free abortion hurt the poor and minorities?"—was misleading. It allowed Moore to appear as a partisan of poor people when in fact (a) she opposes abortion on absolute grounds and would do so even if she acknowledged that it helped the poor, and (b) the movement she is associated with usually opposes programs for the benefit of the poor. The manipulation of the poor by coercive programs—not only birth control but also welfare, for example—is something that socialists and feminists should challenge. But neither Mulhauser's denial of this reality nor Moore's opportunistic use of it furthers understanding of it.

—Linda Gordon
—Allen Hunter
Cambridge, Mass



David Moberg's reports on the People's Temple, first published in *In These Times*, now reprinted as a pamphlet.

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LETTERS

THE OTHER HALF

I ENJOYED YOUR ARTICLE ON THE DSOC convention (*ITT*, Feb. 28). While some of your implied criticisms require extensive reply, they were offered and are accepted in the spirit of friendly dialogue.

However, Judis' piece had one odd quality—it appeared to be half of a longer article. It left out three significant events that happened during the second half of the convention.

(1) The two speeches by Ruben Berrios Martinez, president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party—one at an evening plenary and the other at a Houston community church. These two highlights of the weekend helped focus on the point that Berrios made that "Puerto Rico is the acid test in America for anti-imperialism." His analysis and the DSOC's response to it deserved mention.

(2) William Holayer (Political Action Director of the International Association of Machinists) enthused all the delegates to the convention when he concluded his address by declaring, "I want to be part of setting up a coalition between the Machinists Union and our friends in the socialist movement. I want to put it together with you," and gave practical details on how such a grass-roots coalition between IAM lodges and local socialists could be established. This augurs something new in American socialist prospects for growth.

(3) And finally, the election of two new vice-chairs represents important advances in DSOC: Atlanta theologian and leader of DSOC's Hispanic Commission, Michael Rivas and IAM president, William Winpisinger. Given *ITT*'s high-lighting of Winpisinger's role in building a democratic left within the union movement, it is surprising that this was not mentioned.

Anyway, keep up the good work. Your domestic coverage, in particular, remains informative and provocative, and a vital contribution to the building of a democratic left. Thanks.

—Deborah Meier, vice chair
Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee
New York

A SOLUTION TO THE THIRD PARTY "DILEMMA"

WE ENDLESSLY HEAR THE SUPPOSED dilemma that creating a third party inherently means "throwing the presidency to the Republicans." But this overlooks the distinction between presidential elections and legislative elections, at all levels of government and the path of parallel action.

The two-party system is functional for implementing an existing majority consensus. But for injecting new ideas and altering public opinion, a new independent party is better. It allows penetration of the system in small districts, in legislative elections, and the use of legislative seats as platforms for public agitation.

In presidential elections, such a party could collaborate with the Democratic Party to keep the Republicans out of the White House when desirable. But by building its own independent power in other parts of the political system, it could afford to compromise at the presidential level without jeopardizing its own existence, power, and growth as an independent party.

The supposed "dilemma" arises from what it presupposes—a third party preoccupied with presidential elections, and hence ephemeral events and personalities, as distinct from underlying realities and long-term aims.

To unlock the underlying paralysis of the left we then need a type of socialism that has genuine political prospects in America.

Then we can have socialists ready to talk socialism to the public instead of just among themselves.

—Leland Stauber
Carbondale, Ill.

MANNING MARABLE, WE ARE HERE!

MANNING MARABLE (*ITT*, MAR. 14) writes convincingly about the need for "...beginning a new; democratic liberal-left electoral coalition and the permanent organization of activists from both major political parties who are seriously committed to the goal of a humanistic society."

This kind of organizing is, of course, a worthy aspiration and has been called for by others writing in *ITT*. However, it is irritating—in fact, close to disgusting—that Marable writes as if this hasn't already been begun by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. It's been covered in *ITT*, supported by you editorially and discussed by a wide range of people elsewhere!

It seems to me that DSOC itself as an organization, in its Democracy '76 program in the last election and in its present Democratic Agenda program, is exactly what Marable is calling for. Yet he ends his article saying it is not "whether" we need this but a question of "when" it will occur.

Why do you ignore what DSOC has been trying to do, Marable? Are we not "correct," or ideologically "pure" enough? If not, why not at least acknowledge DSOC's efforts and provide a decent critique of them?

A related effort, supported by DSOC, is the labor-backed Progressive Alliance. Readers of *ITT* are, of course, aware of it, but Marable has managed totally to ignore it as well.

—Bob Groves
Wooster, O.

ALL MAY NOT BE LOST

JOHN JUDIS IN "IS THE LEFT ALWAYS right?" (*ITT*, Mar. 7) really expressed my feelings well. All of us in this country have, I'm afraid, given up on popular democracy. We've put our fate in the hands of greedy politicians and insensitive bureaucracies. Now with the potential to put some real power in our constitution, we back off. Long ago, I came to the conclusion that existing political theories and systems don't have as much to offer as democracy. I hope all is not lost.

—David Helgager
Charleston, W.Va.

THINKING MAKES IT SO

PLEASE CONTINUE COVERING electoral politics. The exciting realization that a strong left presence is at least possible in the U.S. owes much thanks to *IN THESE TIMES*. Why not? Such exists in Canada and Europe. If only more people would vote. Though I have never voted for a candidate I really liked, I have never neglected an election. If one doesn't vote one doesn't count.

I am incredulous that with so much money spent to buy elections so many Americans cynically think their vote is unimportant. They reason that the U.S. population is conservative to the tenth power, but this inauspicious depiction only somewhat reflects the people who stand up. Also, too many good Americans think politics does not offer a handle on improving their lives (an idea disgustingly pushed by the entertainment media). Both notions cause many to become a silent minority by not voting. Ten times worse, some are sucked into ultra-left craziness or religious cults and get burned off like matches.

I have thought hard about it, and I do not see why the left, a legitimate politi-

cal tendency, should forever be emaciated by these illusions. Keep up the good work and please print more about Mayor Kucinich.

—Dick Bucklin
New York

ANOTHER DAY...

AS A MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK City chapter of the New American Movement, I read with dismay your report on DSOC's decision to explore merger with NAM (*ITT*, Feb. 28). On what basis did your reporter determine that "the majority of NAM members" now favor "work in the Democratic Party" and participation "in coalitions with labor leadership"? As far as I know, majority opinion on these questions is far from clear within NAM.

An even more serious shortcoming of your report is the failure to address what it means to work in the Democratic Party or in coalition with labor leaders. Not to define the content of these propositions is to gloss over crucial and difficult issues, the very issues I believe distinguish NAM's politics from those of DSOC. A member of our National Interim Committee, Mike Rotkin, highlighted these differences when he wrote in our Autumn '78 Discussion Bulletin:

NAM will not rule out work within the Democratic Party or with progressive union leaders when (1) that becomes necessary in the course of doing serious rank and file work or (2) when in particular situations the particular nature of a defensive struggle of the working class makes such "alliances" necessary. The vast majority of NAM would agree with you that the long-term strategy has to be to replace bureaucratic union leaders with strong rank and file movements and to replace the Democratic Party with a real working-class party.

Even this description of "majority" politics in NAM remains conjectural until these questions are voted on. But Rotkin's approach is a far cry from DSOC's reliance on these labor leaders and coalitions to change the political agenda of the Democratic Party from within. No amount of shoddy reporting by your newspaper will reconcile these differences—only political struggle within and between the organization.

—David Dollar
New York

FILM CRITICS

FILM CRITIC ANDREW SARRIS GOT off rather lightly in your recent spread on him (*ITT*, Feb. 14). I missed any criticism of the "auteur theory" that he espouses (everything to the director, nothing to the screen writer). This seems to me an easy way to evade grappling with ideas in film. Exponents of "auteur" built up the cult of Leni Riefenstahl, maker of the curtain-raiser for the Final Solution: *Triumph of the Will*, screenplay by Hitler.

Really surprising, however, is the failure seriously to challenge Sarris' curt dismissal of the "sociological" film critics who regard content, not style, as the determining factor in film art. Without the efforts of this breed of critic the nation's screens would still be offering, among other indignities, such blatant stereotypes as the indolent and servile black, Italian organ-grinder and knife-thrower, Jewish briber and hand-rubbing usurer, crafty Japanese, hatchet-wielding and opium-smoking Chinese, bloodthirsty Indian scalper, Mexican greaser and half-breed, dynamiting labor agitator, bearded, bomb-throwing Bolshevik, dumb Swede, hot-tempered suffragette, etc.

The elimination of these and other aggressive stereotypes was the direct result of film criticism with a strong social clout.

The Old Left critics grouped around the *Daily Worker*, *New Theatre*, *New Masses*, *Experimental Cinema* and the *Film and Photo League* in the 1930s and 1940s may have at times undervalued film form and erred egregiously in other ways, but they taught a generation to look at films differently, to be conscious of ethnic caricatures and especially to be alert to pro-war, anti-labor imperialist and fascist propaganda and attempts at

ensorship. Through their impact in the country and in Hollywood during the period of the great CIO organizing drives, anti-fascist struggles and the general social awakening, there were significant advances in film content beginning in the mid-1930s.

This was the origin of the HUAC movie witchhunts of the 1947-57 decade, leading to the blacklisting and imprisonment of the "Hollywood Ten," the expulsion from the industry of some 300 other socially aware film-makers and the decline of Hollywood as a world film center.

—David Platt
Jewish Currents
New York

David Platt was the founder of *Experimental Cinema*, national secretary of the *Film and Photo League* (1934-36) and film critic of the *Daily Worker* (1933-57).

A SMALL WEAK PEEP?

IN HIS LETTER OF MARCH 14, SI GERSON claimed that I "broadcast a falsehood...that progressives 'didn't utter a peep' about Iraq's execution of Communists," and he says the *Daily World* did more than that.

Gerson is deceiving *ITT* readers. My letter did not state that no progressives protested against this crime in Iraq—some did, of course—but asked: "What can one think of progressives who didn't utter a peep when the 'anti-imperialist' government of Iraq announced in June 1978 that it had executed 30 Communists?" The difference is obvious.

In his misquotation Gerson also slyly lopped off the date, "June 1978," so that he could say that the *Daily World* had protested the terror against the left in Iraq—in 1969! About 1978 he is evasive.

My letter, which *ITT* published Jan. 31, was written late in December, before the January 5 *Daily World* article by Tom Foley, its foreign editor. At any rate, can Gerson explain why it took from June 1978, when these executions were officially announced in Iraq until Jan. 5, to denounce these crimes? Why the seven months silence? Could it be that the *Daily World* was unwilling to condemn an ally of the Soviet Union even though it was killing Communists?

Gerson claims that Foley has written since 1969 "attacking the Iraq government for its terror against the left." This is malarky. Frequently since 1969 Foley and the *Daily World* were apologists and boosters of Al Bakr's police state in Iraq. Foley wrote in the *New World Review* (January 1974): "...in Syria and Iraq... the trend is definitely away from adventurism, militaristic romanticism, extreme national chauvinism and religious fanaticism... The trend today is instead toward secular, democratic states with written guarantees of human rights" (sic)!

A reactionary Arab nationalist regime such as Al Bakr's, riddled with gangster elements and based on chauvinist hatred for Israel and oppression of the Kurdish minority, cannot qualify as a "secular, democratic" state. But Foley and the *Daily World* sneered at those who didn't accept their notion of a "progressive Iraq." Their pathetic lament on Jan. 5, 1979, that "the allegedly 'progressive' regime in Iraq is getting away with murder," is testimony of political incompetence.

—Sid Resnick
New Haven, Conn.

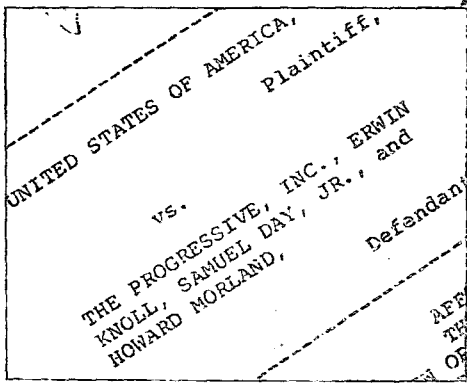
Editor's Note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double space letters.

Solution to last week's puzzle:

S	I	P	I	C	I	O	V	A	T	E
O	N	E	N	O	R	A	V	E	N	
A	D	O	C	H	A	M	A	N	D	
P	I	N								
S	A	I	S	R	E	T	S	T	E	P
E	A	T								
S	E	P	A	L						
S	T	A	T	I	C					
T	A	N	S							
K	I	S	S							
E	L	A	T	E						
G	O	L	A	N						

H-bomb secret is public knowledge

TO SUPPORT THE CONTENTION that Howard Morland's article, "H-bomb Secret," scheduled for publication in the May issue of *THE PROGRESSIVE*, did not contain any information that was not publicly available and that the government was without sound



basis in enjoining its publication (ITT, Mar. 28), Theodore Postol, a physicist at the Argonne National Laboratory, submitted an affidavit to the court. One, listing references, was suppressed by the government. The following excerpts most of the affidavit.

I have been employed at the Argonne National Laboratory since 1975 after receiving my doctorate at MIT. Approximately mid-February of 1979 I received a draft of the Morland article which I read.

I have strong feelings about nuclear weapons. I regard them as arbitrary and indiscriminate weapons of mass murder which should be viewed similarly to the issue of Apartheid. I personally feel that any increase in the number of nuclear weapons in the world, whether it be by my government or other governments, strongly compromises the stability of an already precarious international situation.... Ethics aside, I believe it is not in the interest of a nation or group to build nuclear weapons because it distinguishes them as targets for weapons for which there is no defense. I support all reasonable measures to limit any route, be it information or policy, to an increase of nuclear weaponry in the world....

It is my opinion that the article by Morland contains no information or ideas that are not already common knowledge among scientists, including those who do not have access to classified information.

It was my judgment at the time of reading the Morland article, and it is my judgment now, that the article contains no ideas or information which could not be readily concluded or obtained by any competent physicist after seeing the diagram prepared by Dr. Edward Teller for his article on the hydrogen bomb in the *Encyclopedia Americana* (Vol. 14, p. 655). The ideas and information contained in the Morland article would be arrived at

not within years, but within hours....

Moreover, the article in no way provides any of the detail necessary for the construction of any element, let alone, a complete, nuclear weapon.

It is possible, but not obvious to me, that the article gathers together bits and pieces of public information in a manner not previously done; however the article contains well-known commonly accepted information and is, to a physicist, technically less sound than the *Encyclopedia Americana* article by Dr. Teller. Included in my Affidavit No. II are a list of references from which my arguments follow [This affidavit was suppressed by the U.S. State's Attorney.] The court should note the easy accessibility and elementary technical level of these references.

Dr. Teller's *Encyclopedia Americana* article supplies an important insight into how the problems of stacking fusion materials in thermonuclear weapons might be solved. The diagram speaks for itself for any physicist....

The unfortunate fact is that most scientists who concern themselves with weapons design, do so within the confines of classified literature. It is only in the unusual situation, such as Morland, that a person outside the classification establishment even thinks about the issues, much more puts them down on paper. Since persons in the classified establishment work with the benefit of classified information, it may be difficult for them to judge what can be deduced from the unclassified literature. The conclusions of

such persons as to the availability of public information is in doubt, and in a case such as this, the judgment of those in the classified establishment who do not have a substantial familiarity with the physical sciences is particularly in doubt.

Reducing the availability of information in technical areas where military or industrial applications could threaten our national security may sometimes be an effective means of technology denial and I support such measures when they are necessary. However, capricious or arbitrary suppression of information which is already generally available has an adverse affect on national security in the following ways:

(a) It inhibits the process of information exchange necessary for the function and survival of democratic institutions and societies.

(b) It is dangerous in that it propagates the myth that indiscriminate censorship, rather than a clear, consistent, and resolved set of national policies, can inhibit the growth of deleterious technologies which are not in our national interest.

(c) Inhibiting the dissemination of technological and scientific information can and will diminish the nation's economic progress and therefore its ability to compete in the world market place.

Finally, it appears to me that anything can be arbitrarily classified. As a result, it seems to me that it is, and should be, the government's responsibility to demonstrate that this information really compromises the security of this country. ■

HARRY C. BOYTE

The defeat of SALT II would be a defeat for peace movement

TWO POINTS ARE MOST OFTEN raised by those who object to SALT II "from the left." On the one hand, the left should not endorse the high levels of military spending allowed by SALT II. On the other hand, the left should take an independent and principled position for disarmament. Several peace activists have



taken parallel positions in recent criticism of the treaty. Seen as a tactical maneuver, the reservations that Senate disarmament advocates like Mark Hatfield and George McGovern have expressed do serve as important left pressure on an administration which has waged "the battle for SALT" like every other controversy—by seeking to appease the right wing.

But it is one, useful and positive thing to point out that SALT II will by itself achieve only quite modest limitations on the accelerating arms race. It would be something quite different to join with the resurgent right in opposition to the treaty after it is signed.

The fact is that SALT II, despite its limited scope, will become the symbol of arms control in the coming months, no matter what peace activists might wish for. The appropriate strategy for the left is to give the treaty critical support and simultaneously to demand that its concluding paragraphs be amended that negotiations for genuine disarmament, the subject of SALT III, actually begin.

SALT II would do nothing in the way of arms increases. What it does do is set certain limits on the numbers of missiles (lowering the number from 2400 permitted under SALT I to 2250). It determines the number of warheads allowable on

each missile (ten), which SALT I did not do. And it sets the agenda for SALT III negotiations. SALT III is to take up specific weapons systems, as "packages," for dismantling.

Treaty opponents on the left object to several features of SALT II. The upper limit on warheads would allow a considerable increase over existing levels. And the treaty permits the development of increasingly accurate missile targeting, and also the development and deployment of one major new ground-based weapons system on each side. The new U.S. system would likely be the MX missile, a mobile weapon that could greatly complicate future arms negotiations.

Nothing in the treaty, however, requires either the maximum number of missiles, changes in technology or the development of a system like the MX. Instead, the treaty calls for SALT III negotiations which are to take up such questions. On balance, SALT II is far from a "solution" to the arms race. But it does meet the main criteria for "structural reform":

• There is some modest progress toward slowing arms escalation built into the treaty (if SALT II is not passed, estimates of increased U.S. military expenditures

range from \$7 to 10 billion more a year.

• Though the treaty would allow a considerable growth in military forces, it does not structure them into U.S.-Soviet relations, and instead creates the possibility for disarmament.

• Finally, the treaty's ratification would create the framework for future domestic struggle.

The latter point is key—far more important in the final analysis than either the specific limits of SALT II or the abstract desires of disarmament advocates.

In the current issue of *The Progressive* (April, 1979), Sidney Lens explains the political analysis which leads him—and others—to oppose SALT II. "If SALT II is rejected nothing dire will happen," Lens maintains. "And if it is rejected because of pressure from the peace forces the result may be a pact that actually halts the arms race."

Lens' conclusion is correct. If a massive peace movement formed the main body of opposition to SALT II, the Russians would undoubtedly relax their cautious, paranoid view of the world. U.S. negotiators would be bolder in pursuit of disarmament. A better treaty would likely result. The problem is that Lens' view has nothing to do with political reality.

Since the end of the Vietnam war, the nation has seen a growing right-wing counter-offensive on foreign policy. It called for the reintroduction of U.S. might into Vietnam in the last days of the war; for support of white racist regimes in Southern Africa and intervention in Angola; for defeat of the Panama Canal Treaty; for bellicose support of the Shah of Iran. Most of all, the militarist right has trumpeted the need to regain military superiority over the Soviet Union, an objective which leads it to plan the most massive campaign undertaken in the decade to defeat SALT II. The foreign policy "right," moreover, is far from the fringe. The call for a resurgence of U.S. will and power around the world now involves figures from both parties and establishmentarian groups like the Committee on the Present Danger. For such forces, the defeat of SALT II would represent a crucial and smashing victory over those who believe in detente and progress toward disarmament.

The hard fact is that nothing remotely comparable exists as yet in the way of an aroused peace constituency. Because of this, the rightist offensive will define the symbolic meaning of the struggle over

SALT II. The main issue on the nation's foreign policy agenda in the coming months is not going to be "real disarmament" versus "the false promise" of SALT II. It will be the idea of any kind of arms control versus a "cessation of U.S. will," with the hidden agenda of an unbridled arms race that the right believes the U.S. can win.

The real world process through which the issues of SALT II will be raised and debated has led every major peace group, from the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to Clergy and Laity Concerned and the American Friends Service Committee to give the treaty critical support.

The major pro-SALT organizations and coalitions understand well that to win SALT II will require building an aroused, pro-disarmament constituency with a vision and objectives that go beyond SALT II: toward real disarmament. In the process of building a new peace movement, other objectives are essential: the fight against Carter's proposed military spending increases and the MX missile; against the effort to revive a cold war hysteria; for genuine commitments to SALT III negotiations.

And in such a process, the left has an inescapable responsibility and vital role—as grass-roots organizers, coalition-builders and political leadership in the struggles that could well set the issues of the 1980s. ■

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PERSPECTIVES

Pollsters, activists show a working people's new left is now emerging

By George L. Corsetti

WHILE MUCH OF THE ORGANIZED LEFT IS MOURNING THE death of the "movement," a number of national pollsters are painting quite another picture—of worker discontent that parallels that of students in the '60s, of increasing citizen activism and even "liberal" trends. Management and unions are also beginning to recognize a change in mood—a change that may well refute the corporate media's analysis of the country's political direction. The left may well be the victim, not only of the corporate media's self-serving and widely disseminated analysis of a move to the right, but also by its own recent history—of a student and civil rights rebellion that simply does not exist at the same level as in the '60s. But recent polls analyzing people's changing attitudes, and of workers in particular, suggest that the ideals of a minority in the '60s have gradually been accepted by the majority in the '70s, and a new "movement" may be emerging from workers, not students.

Some evidence of this can be found in a recent study, published by the *Harvard Business Review* (Jan.-Feb. 1979), which concludes "that there is a major shift in the attitudes and values of the U.S. workforce" that is "deeply rooted in society's recent revolutions." The study, authored by Arthur D. Little Company's opinion Research Corporation, examined the attitudes of 175,000 workers in 159 companies over a 25-year period. The researchers found that "all parts of the workforce are beginning to overtly articulate their needs for achievement recognition and job challenge" and that the trend is expected to continue into the future.

Interestingly, the widespread dissatisfaction is *not* seen as a response to either corporate or economic repression. The authors concluded that 1950's expectations were lower and that while companies seem to be doing more today, these efforts are simply not acceptable to both the older and newer workforce who are better educated and have different values. They also noted a "surprising" satisfaction with pay levels, but predicted that maintaining that level of satisfaction will require "much larger raises" as workers begin to recognize that pay increases are really only inflation adjustments and that purchasing power has not increased.

The researchers also recognized a "filtering down" of "movement" values which should warm the hearts of many of its veterans. "The 1960s were characterized by increasing demands for, as well as tolerance of, self-expression, self-fulfillment, and personal growth—every-

where but in industry. These demands are really just beginning to be voiced in industry, where employees at all levels, many of whom are recent graduates, now feel that they too are entitled to experience some intrinsic satisfaction from their work."

Today's worker activism, and its accompanying affect on society, is not perceived as equal to that of past student activism, but is seen as going in that direction. "The impact of these forces on the working world is not yet as visible as was the dissent in colleges during the late '60s, but discontent among hourly and clerical employees is every bit as pervasive and seems to be growing."

The parallels to the student movement are most striking when viewing the underlying, prime contributing factors in the present shift: "increasing impersonality of work and large organizations"; "rapid advancement of technology"; and "instability of time-honored traditions."

Another pollster has also recognized a shift toward increasing activism generally and among workers in particular. Humphrey Taylor, deputy chairman of Louis Harris and Associates, in a May '78 speech, said there was a definite trend toward an "increase in public participation and growth of participatory democracy." The Harris pollster, speaking before a predominately business audience at the First National Seminar on Individual Rights in the Corporation, said he relied on data derived from surveys called the *Harris Perspective*, which is sold to 34 major corporations.

Taylor said evidence of increasing activism can be found in the "explosive growth of initiatives and referendums... single-issue political organizations such as the many environmentalist and consumerist organizations, and the widespread desire of more and more people to play an active role in areas they were previously prepared to leave to others." As a part of the general trend towards more participatory democracy, workers

were also found to demand an increase in participation in decisions that affect them. Decisions about production quotas, breaks, shift schedules, security measures, and which community organizations the company should fund. A majority of persons also favored "giving unions representation on the company board of directors."

In addition to the increase in worker activism, the Harris pollster pointed to two other significant contemporary trends, both of which would affect the workplace, and both of which would make management "very uncomfortable and very unhappy." They are: a "demand for more and more disclosure by government agencies, politicians and corporations"; and "the public's insistence that everyone who exercises much power over them should be more and more accountable."

Taylor pointed to an increasing demand for workplace privacy—to be free of secret files, hidden cameras, psychological tests, lie detectors and employers' unauthorized sharing of personnel and medical records.

If the Harvard and Harris pollsters' predictions of increasing activism are correct, they raise questions about corporate media propagandizing of a "conservative" trend and its effects on the self-perceptions of the whole society and leftists in particular.

Certainly if the news is distorted consistently and often enough, as it is, most people, even progressive people, will come to accept it as true. For example, a *New York Times*/NBC poll of January 22, 1978, indicated that the public increasingly perceived itself as "conservative." But an examination of the political philosophy on the underlying issues shows liberal, even radical views on such issues as low-cost medical care, right to jobs, and government regulation of hazardous job conditions.

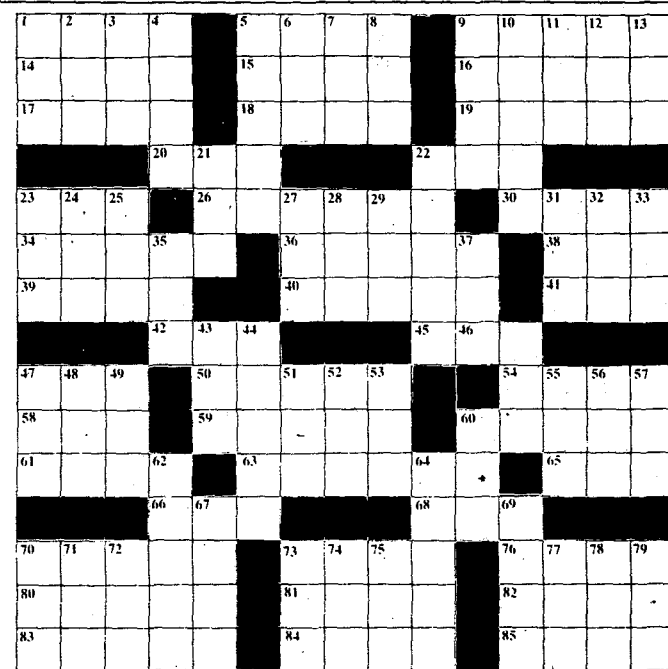
Another poll also documents this self-perception of conservatism. A spokesperson for the American Council on Education, who conducted the poll, said that while fewer first-year college students were willing to identify themselves as liberals, an analysis of political positions shows a *shift to the left* and what is now considered "middle of the road," used to be left of center.

In another study, Professor Warren Miller of the University of Michigan's Center for Political Studies, not only rejects the perceived conservative trend, but claims it is caused by "media hype" coupled with increased visibility of conservative spokespeople. Miller's study is the latest in a series of biennial studies conducted over a 12-year period. "Although there's been a lot of talk about the public's move to the right, there's no evidence of a great swelling of support on the part of the mass population," he said. "Virtually everything we look at indicates there has not been a significant shift. The conservative spokesmen (sic) are simply more visible."

A recent *Fortune* magazine article reviewed a number of polls on economic and social issues and found that "[w]hile social and cultural change always generates strong resistance, the public support for such change has steadily increased of late." (emphasis added.) The analysis projected by the popular media, however, is overwhelmingly one of a conservative trend, i.e., political direction. But this analysis is clearly suspect. As the *Fortune* article goes on to point out, "One will not win many foreseeable elections by assuming that the American people are swinging 'to the right.' They are not. In the whole area of cultural change, the public on the whole has been moving toward a more liberal stance."

The lesson for progressive people is *not* that we should stop reading the non-leftist press. On the contrary, a great deal of valuable information can be gleaned from the conservative media, particularly that aimed at the ruling and managerial class. But, at the same time we should become much more conscious of media's manipulative role, its affect on our own self-perception and our resulting actions or inaction. The seductive analysis projected by the media conglomerates is ultimately rooted in its self-serving, profit-seeking nature. It is to their advantage to convince the public to jump on the "silent majority" bandwagon of conservative thought and to give higher visibility to their ideology.

George L. Corsetti is a Detroit attorney.



Feminist Potpourri

By David Mermelstein

ACROSS

- 1 German revolution-ary killed in 1919 (first name)
- 5 Nourish
- 9 Feminist politician, with a big hat
- 14 First word of Marcuse title
- 15 Concerning
- 16 Inventor, _____ Howe
- 17 Pastrami locale
- 18 Author of *Born Female*
- 19 Lies around idly
- 20 Bishopric
- 22 Container
- 23 Roscoe Tanner specialty
- 23 Writers
- 26 Writers Anne, Charlotte or Emily Jane
- 30 Heroine of Charlotte, see 26 Across
- 34 Mediterranean fruit

- 36 Female diarist (first name)
- 38 Greek resistance letters
- 39 Walked heavily
- 40 Greeting
- 41 Mimic
- 42 Owed
- 45 Dog command
- 47 Appropriate
- 50 Holy chalice
- 54 River of Belgium and France
- 58 Golf ball position
- 59 "...kingdom for a _____"
- 60 *Sisterhood is Powerful*, edited by _____ Morgan
- 61 Fido and Spot
- 63 Author of *The Second Sex* (first name)
- 65 Giants star, Mel _____
- 66 Follows printemps
- 68 _____ de France
- 70 French pupil

- 73 Author of *Fear of Flying*
 - 76 Food
 - 80 Cloward's partner
 - 81 Orchestra instrument
 - 82 Contrary one
 - 83 The Great and the Terrible
 - 84 Burial stand
 - 85 French weapon
- DOWN**
- 1 Communist
 - 2 Mined substance
 - 3 Musical tone
 - 4 Terms of second-hand sale
 - 5 Cotton or jute
 - 6 Prefix for corn or cycle
 - 7 "_____ is human"
 - 8 Conducted
 - 9 _____ Bartok
 - 10 Make proud
 - 11 Br. Congresswoman

- 12 New Guinea seaport
- 13 Blackhead
- 21 Wane
- 22 Worn by Moslem women
- 23 Perform
- 24 Lordstown product
- 25 Cockney man of courage
- 27 Historians' org.
- 28 Chicago as seen from St. Louis: Abbr.
- 29 Former SNCC leader, H. _____ Brown
- 33 Scottish uncle
- 35 Peculiar
- 37 _____distant
- 43 Exclamation of disgust
- 44 Gnawed away
- 46 Amorous murmur
- 47 High mountain
- 48 Apple or banana cream
- 49 "_____ Offensive" (1968)
- 51 Jacqueline's deceased husband, familiarly
- 52 Doctrinal suffix
- 53 Tolstoy or Durocher
- 55 Nigerian
- 56 See 45 Across
- 57 Suffix for differ
- 60 Aunt or cousin is one, for short
- 62 Seas or Wonders of the World
- 74 African republic
- 67 Bills
- 69 American anarchist (first name)
- 70 Prefix for dermis
- 71 VI times IX
- 72 Hitler's sweetheart (first name)
- 73 Patient man
- 74 Japanese sash
- 75 Bay area valley
- 77 Kernel container
- 78 Limb
- 79 Dangerous chemical

Solution to last week's puzzle on page 16.

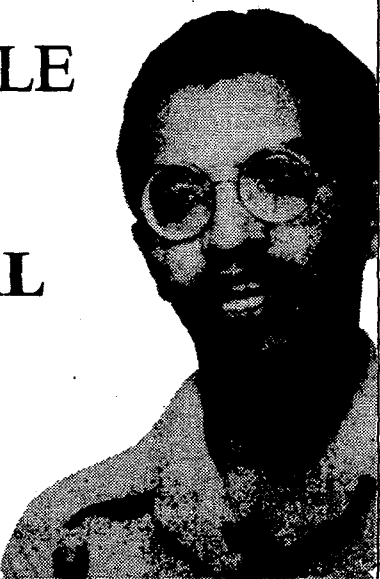
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»SPORTSCENE«

BASEBALL

Managers play musical chairs

By Lester Rodney

ANOTHER BASEBALL SEASON is upon us, and 32 springs after a man named Jackie Robinson quite literally changed the complexion of the game, the color of skin doesn't matter no-how. It's salt and pepper right through the big league rosters. (The Yankees were one of the last organizations to succumb to Americanism. Imagine the champs without Jackson, Chambliss, Rivers, Randolph and White). Black players, unlike the early years when they *had* to be exceptional, have even achieved their inalienable right to be ordinary and occasionally mediocre big leaguers.

Oh, somewhere in and around the dugouts, clubhouses, hotels, planes and negotiating offices there may be little tensions and indignities that whites are hardly aware of. But that, unhappily, is still in the fabric of life in a land where once-pervasive racism dies slow and hard. It is painful but in this case secondary.

The good news is that the basic fight for equality of opportunity on the playing fields of our national pastimes has been won. Really and truly. Period. End of article.

...uh, just one thing.

Looking at the 26 teams (ten more than in 1947) we *do* note one similarity to the way things were.

All the big league managers are white of skin.

Yes, there have been two black managers. Frank Robinson, the very first, lasted two seasons with Cleveland and now coaches at Baltimore. Larry Doby, once again a "second"—he was the big league's second black player—was deposited after half a season at the helm of the Chicago White Sox last summer.

Let it be quickly stated that this is not in criticism of the owners who fired Robinson and Doby. After all, they *hired* Robinson and Doby when it was an avant garde thing to do.

White managers get fired, too. And hired again. And fired and hired again. Which is the point here.

As everyone in and around baseball knows, the firing of managers is an elaborate charade. Baseball is a standardized game played the same way by all teams. Managing calls for a knowledge of these basics, and reasonable good sense and deportment in applying them. Success depends on the caliber of the players avail-

able. A manager is fired when the owner has not obtained the talent necessary to compete successfully with the other teams. Owners do not fire themselves.

To show how little the owners really think managerial firings have to do with managerial abilities, most deposed managers go into a musical-chairs rotation and are sooner or later snapped up by other owners.

A prime example fresh in the memory is Bob Lemon. Dropped in mid-season of '78 by the floundering White Sox, who took him aboard after he was fired by Kansas City, Lemon was signed by the Yankees' George Steinbrenner. The Yankees, who happened to be the best team, won it all.

The affable Lemon, back here for the winter in sunny Long Beach, Cal., shrugged off accusations of genius. "I just got out of their way and let them play," he explained.

He did make one lineup change from the team the troubled Billy Martin had been fielding. He took Thurman Munson out of right field, returned him to his field of excellence, catching, and put Reggie Jackson back into right field. "I was just using the line-up I had seen destroy Kansas City and the Dodgers the year before," he said. Lemon would be the first to agree that most any 14-year-old kid in the Bronx could have figured out that managerial move.

Does anyone think that Yankee coach Elston Howard, who is black, could not have done the same things Lemon did? Or, for that matter, that Howard would not have made as efficient a manager as another ex-Yankee catcher, Yogi Berra, with either the Yankees or Mets?

Frank Robinson and Larry Doby, veteran baseball men, are fully aware of the inflated nonsense in baseball's managing mystique.

Go back to an amiable managerial flop named Casey Stengel. He led the old Brooklyn Dodgers to 6th, 5th and 7th-place finishes, then masterminded the Boston Braves to 5th, four straight 7ths and one 6th (in an eight-team league, remember). The Yankees signed him. Making out the line-up cards for the game's best players, Stengel instantaneously metamorphosized into a peerless winner. Certainly good old Case, bless his memory and the memories he left with those of us who chronicled the sport, was no dummy. But as the record dramatizes, as anyone else he needed the horses for results.

Now glance around with ex-managers



Yankee manager Bob Lemon: "I just got out of their way and let them play."

Robinson and Doby at managers heading into the 1979 season.

There's the new Cincinnati manager, John McNamara, fired by Oakland and San Diego. Dick Williams at Montreal, formerly of Boston, Oakland and California. Bill Virdon of Houston, via Pittsburgh and the Yankees. Gene Mauch of Minnesota, through Philadelphia and Montreal. Herman Franks—San Francisco and Chicago, Chuck Tanner—White Sox and Pirates, Ralph Houk—Yankees and Detroit. Recent champion of the musical chairs was Alvin Dark, fired by San Francisco, Kansas City, Cleveland, Oakland and San Diego.

We come to a variable in the managerial equation—Billy Martin, the man Lem-

on replaced last summer at New York. Billy keeps getting fired despite field successes because of what may be called personal and personality problems. These reached the state last season where he had the players jangling, and his own judgments seemed to be affected. Yet, in spite of his problems, Billy had bounced like the little white ball from Minnesota to Detroit to Texas to New York. Even if he is not rehired in 1980 by the Yankees as promised, don't bet that we won't have Billy Martin to kick around again. He's a veteran of the musical chairs.

Frank Robinson never got tapped for that revolving fraternity after his stint with a sub-par Cleveland team. Will Larry Doby, another perfectly cabable man who was caught with a down team, get a second whirl?

See the managerial line-ups same time next year. Don't hold your breath.

What about the other two major professional sports?

Basketball and football followed the lead of baseball in opening their ranks to black players. The New York Knicks, with then-coach Joe Lapchick, played a leading role in the former sport.

Basketball has gone on to demolish racist clichés about black leadership qualities being suspect. Bill Russell led Boston to championships as player-coach (coach in basketball is similar to manager in baseball). Al Attles at San Francisco took his team to the top. Most basketball people now rate Seattle's Lenny Wilkins as the coach who gets the most from the talents on hand. Elgin Baylor is coach of the struggling New Orleans team. There have been four other black coaches.

Pro football, where coaching heads fly regularly, has yet to name its first black head coach. Not in moving up assistant coaches, where qualified blacks stand ready, nor in going to the colleges, where a winner like Eddie Robinson of Grambling has stocked the league with well-prepared stars.

Lester Rodney is a retired sports writer playing tennis in Torrance, Cal.

Rite of Spring

Continued from page 24.

Will Billy Martin return to manage the Yankees in 1980?

Owner George Steinbrenner is talking to reporters when a fan shouts at him: "Stop talking to them and start talking to the fans. We still love Billy."

Steinbrenner's reply is loud and pointed: "Then hire him."

Yankees & Dodgers.

The Gas House Gang. The Big Red Machine. The Whiz Kids. The Bums. There are no such nicknames for the current Yankees and Dodgers, but not because the teams lack distinct personalities.

The Dodgers have just clobbered the Baltimore Orioles, 7-1. Manager Tommy Lasorda lines up his players and they begin to run the bases like madmen, to the amazement of the night-time crowd.

In the locker room afterwards, Dodger captain Davey Lopes: "It helps to incorporate team unity because everybody's doing it rather than individually. Once we're on the ballfield we try to do everything we can to make it look like it's team-oriented."

Teammate Reggie Smith: "Team spirit, it's emotion, that's what team spirit is."

Best of all, Lasorda: "You're looking at the happiest man in the world. I'm the happiest sonofabitch in the world. There might be a couple of guys in Taiwan or someplace who are going to tie me but there's no one who's going to beat me."

The Dodgers, led by Lasorda, love to talk about the organization, about team spirit, and about how happy they are. It can be a genuine pleasure to be with them as the players willingly sign autographs

and chat with reporters and fans. But sometimes they seem to be talking too much, as if trying to convince themselves of something.

The Dodger Blue came up second-best to Yankee pinstripes in each of the last two years. Last fall, the Dodger morale—the team's supposed strength—collapsed when the Series moved to New York.

The first time we hear Lasorda's explanation—"If God had wanted us to win the World Series last year he would have made Graig Nettles get sick"—it was amusing. When he says it again two days later it becomes clear that this is his stock answer. Three days later, Dodger vice-president Al Campanis says exactly the same thing.

The Yankee regulars don't talk about their organization, their team, their emotions, or God. Is it difficult to get psyched up to win again? "Nah," says Piniella, "we got a bunch of veterans here."

The Yankees basically aren't very friendly. They go about their business in the camp, apparently self-contained, paying little notice to the writers or the fans. Lemon is calm and quiet in marked contrast to Lasorda—and to Martin, the man he replaced.

The World Series lingers on the minds of the Dodgers. Taking batting practice, Lopes grounds sharply toward an untended third base and the ball rolls safely into left field. But Lopes mutters, "Nettles, get out of the way." "I still don't feel the Yankees have a better club than we have," he says. "They have some intangible. If I could figure out what it was, I'd buy some."

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

THE DEER HUNTER

Epic posturing doesn't make it art

Confused metaphors of isolation

By Joe Webb

The Deer Hunter is coarse and ultimately misanthropic. Claiming to be anti-war, its project—if it has a project—is to reveal the fundamental isolation and unhappiness of the human condition.

The movie introduces one to what is supposed to be working-class life in a smallish steel mill town. Three buddies get off work on a Friday afternoon amid backslapping, beer cracking and horsing around. They are going to go to Vietnam shortly. Off they go to the neighborhood bar, but with a fast aside to the working man's romance with his car.

The chief character (Robert De Niro), this film's nominee for a John Wayne for our time, contests a diesel truck: his Cadillac versus 25 tons. This Cadillac is in pretty rough shape; it suggests contempt for cars and, by extension, for American materialistic values. Along with the shabby house-trailer (a union of road and place, an impossible American alliance) it suggests a metaphor of American material culture, that of doomed and preposterous claims and hopes to material sufficiency.

But the metaphor is off. Working class people don't treat their cars like this—young males particularly. Nor can working people afford not to care for their cars. As well, some working Americans can and do achieve a high

Its conceit is that there is nothing to know but the present moment, self-destruction is universal.



measure of relatively durable consumer goods. And this faulty metaphor is just one example of more and worse to come.

The afternoon is finished off in the bar. They are robust, even innocent salt-of-the-earth figures, singing along to jukebox top 40 and shooting pool. One of them is marrying that evening and is collared by his old-country mother and dragged out of the bar. Does it advance the plot? No, but it's good sitcom. The reception is overly long and shamelessly Godfatherish.

Next, the deer hunting trip. Cadillac and occupants lurch into magnificent (absolutely not East Coast) mountains, spewing beer cans and presumably foul air not least from its hungover human cargo. De Niro is the only serious one—the deerslayer. The hunt is his church: the choir sings high volume as he stalks and makes his kill.

Then, back home. This rendering of working class life has the buddies thoughtlessly romping through life with only De Niro possessing a shred of sense of something transcendent, and that something is couched in a worn out myth of a return to nature. This characterization, however, stands to heighten the contrast with later developments, as the innocent become guilty.

On to Vietnam: the Vietcong commit atrocities. Our men are taken prisoner. With Ho Chi Minh's picture on the hut wall, the guards force the prisoners to play Russian roulette. Not killing out of revenge or defense, or even honorably on the field of battle, but killing for kicks: this is a metaphor of evil, of the Devil.

Ostensibly about Vietnam, this three-hour film has probably only about 45 minutes screen time set in Vietnam and virtually all that time is given to the Russian roulette theme, which eventually becomes a symbol of the major meaning of the film. Not deer hunter, but roulette player. A chance bullet through the brain, self-inflicted: our lives are a useless passion and the communists are no better.

The three American innocents abroad in Vietnam become corrupted after contact with Asians. Saigon's vice includes voluntary Russian roulette players; two of our three heroes participate. No Asians are portrayed sympathetically. Thus, the Vietnamese brought it on themselves. They did it; they corrupted us.

Of the three, one survives more or less intact. Another loses his legs, a forearm and most of his personality, while the third remains in Saigon, a junkie Russian roulette player. De Niro returns to a Saigon desperately paying for its hubris—people are mobbing the U.S. embassy in their terror to get out before Saigon falls—to search for his buddy. His friend blows his brains out.

De Niro returns home with the body. At the funeral, a camera focuses on a soot-covered dead leaf hanging on a winter branch. After the funeral, friends sing *God Bless America* in their neighborhood bar.



The source of their misery is in a foreign land of yellow people—and in the human heart. It just took the Vietnamese to reveal it to us. Singing *God Bless America* is full of pathos here because it is infantile and neurotic, a plea for reassurance.

Nothing in this movie suggests political or economic reasons for the Vietnam war. Thus to perceive, particularly because of the final scene, any politically progressive aspect to it is an error. The message is that self-destruction is universal, and that politics is a result of it and not its cause. The film applies crude formulas, refusing to explore antecedents, causes, history. Its conceit is that there is nothing to know except the present moment.

It is sobering to see a film obviously commanding the rapt attention of audiences when the film is so bad in so many ways. If this film could be seen as standing outside history, then its bizarre aspect could be more readily accepted as "just a movie," and the fascination with it would be more comprehensible. Maybe audiences see it this way. Americans are outside of history anyway, aren't they?

Empty rites and unreal characters

By Ruth McCormick

In New York *The Deer Hunter* is the hottest ticket in town, at \$5.00 at the smallish Coronet Theater, which is selling only reserved seats. Reserved-seat bookings have been a rarity in recent years, and have traditionally been made only for films of "epic" proportions; this in itself gives one an idea of how the picture is being promoted, and how it is seen by its defenders.

For all its vastness, *The Deer Hunter* is a curiously empty film, filling its three hours with grandiose images, scanty characterizations and ambiguous emotions. Ostensibly it is about three buddies—stoic, nature-loving Mike (Robert De Niro), good-natured, all-American Nick (Christopher Walken) and laconic Steve (John

The Vietnamese are no more real than the stereotyped wives, mothers and girlfriends—or the worker-heroes themselves.

Savage)—Russian-American steelworkers who grew up together in Clairton, Pa., and who are sent to fight in Vietnam. After horrific experiences in this war, their fates are different, but representative: Steve is left legless and does not want to return home to his wife, Nick goes mad, and Mike can no longer indulge in his favorite pastime, hunting and killing deer.

The environment in which these characters exist is made real; they are not. The result is that nothing seems quite real. In the first segment, the characters spend much of their time drinking, and things happen as if in a dream. Mike is the leader of the group, and his relationship to Nick is uncannily close, to the point where a number of critics have suggested homosexual undertones. At home in the mountains, Mike expresses apprehension at the prospect of fighting an unknown enemy in unfamiliar territory. The men meet a Green Beret drinking at the bar of a wedding reception; he refuses to talk about his experiences. Nothing is explained.

The war sequence is a descent into hell, with the Vietnamese as the devils. This totally negative portrayal of a whole people has led to many accusations that *The Deer Hunter* is racist; objectively this is true. But the reality of the Vietnamese is no more established than that of these Russian-American worker-heroes or their stereotyped wives, mothers and girlfriends. The Vietnamese become simply the "other" of whom the

protagonists know no more now than they did while they were still home.

The contrivance that holds the film together is Russian roulette. This is not the Vietnamese national sport, but director Michael Cimino's metaphor for the cheapening of life during war. But not even Russian roulette can make the film come together. The so-called epic disintegrates into what would be soap opera if the filmmakers had not sacrificed narrative for metaphor. It is probably useless to ask why Nick goes mad and becomes a professional Russian roulette player for Saigon gangsters; why Mike, to the accompaniment of religious-sounding choral music, ascends into his native hills, but finds himself incapable of shooting a deer, even with one shot; or why Linda (Meryl Streep), now that her fiancé Nick may be lost, treats Mike as if he were her returning fiancé. Who are these people, anyway?

On its most consistent level, *The Deer Hunter* concerns rituals—weddings, wars, funerals. It is especially about the male rituals of hunting, drinking, hanging out, mating and killing. While there is a tacit celebration of these rituals in themselves, they seem to become meaningless in a depersonalized modern society.

It seems safe to say that the film regrets this loss of meaning, and that the final sequence, after Nick's funeral, in which the reunited friends mechanically sing *God Bless America*, presents these people as trying to make some sense out of life with another comforting ritual. But if these people do not come to life, if their Russian-ness seems like superficial window-dressing, if their reactions to battle and imprisonment and torture seem one-dimensional, is this not perhaps because Cimino and the scriptwriters don't really know the real-life models for their characters?

The Deer Hunter overwhelms with its images: the beauty of nature, the gusto of celebration, the horror of war, the strangeness of alien beings, the repetition of ritual are all recorded in visually vivid tones that are finally without substance. It seems to take an anti-war position, and seems, on the other hand, to take a racist view of the Vietnamese. There is much seeming in this film and, in the end, no recognizable reality. ■



DAVID, about a Jewish family attempting to flee the Holocaust, won the Berlin Film Festival's top award.

War films dominate festival

By Ruth McCormick

The Berlin Film Festival, now in its 29th year, is one of the largest and most diversified in the world, featuring not only about 20 films "in competition," but a Forum of Young Cinema, which offers a large selection of new films from around the world, an Information Show, where older, perhaps forgotten, unrecognized films are shown, a series of films for children, and, this year, a retrospective of Rudolph Valentino films and a special series of new German films not chosen for competition.

The most heated arguments at the Berlin Festival this year were over a film that did not even appear in competition. The screening of *The Deer Hunter* angered nations of the Soviet bloc to the degree that they withdrew from the festival. Several weeks earlier, a Soviet delegation had made a similar protest at the Belgrade Film Festival, where *Deer Hunter* was shown, while because of Turkish government pressure *Midnight Express* was not. The Russians argued that the American film was as racist in its treatment of Vietnamese as the British one was of the Turks. Since *Hunter* had been bought, sight unseen, by the Yugoslav government for distribution, they refused to withdraw the film; so the stage was set for more trouble in Berlin.

Although several films were being shown out of competition, organizers of the Berlin Festival chose to show *Deer Hunter* first, on the third day of the competition. The Hungarians and Cubans made the first protest, and on the afternoon of the day *Hunter* was shown, the Soviet delegation held a press conference announcing that because of their support of the Vietnamese people they were leaving Berlin and taking their films with them.

The East German, Polish, Czech, Hungarian and Cuban delegations joined the walkout, leaving the festival short two judges (directors Vera Chytilova of Czechoslovakia and Pál Gabor of Hungary). Six competing films, including Clarence Allen's much-anticipated *Survivors*, the Cuban entry, and a good number of films scheduled for screening in the special sections.

There was talk that the whole situation, and the *Deer Hunter* walkout, was a prelude to only on the part of the Soviet bloc, but

also on that of festival director Wolf Donner and other festival organizers, all members of Germany's Social Democratic Party. To have given in to the forces from the East by cancelling the film, or to have avoided confrontation by placing the film at the end of the festival (which might also have hurt the festival by giving it over to numerous debates about the film), would have given the ever-vigilant rightists ammunition against the Social Democrats.

Whatever the case, the festival continued smoothly, although *The Deer Hunter* became the talk of the town. The majority of Third World filmmakers present joined to issue a statement denouncing the racist elements of the film, but did not withdraw their work. The consensus among festival organizers and guests who agreed about *Hunter*'s racism was that, in fact, the countries who had withdrawn had given the film too much importance, and that, in the end, the real winners would be Universal Pictures and United Artists (producers and European distributors of the picture).

Opinions varied as to the aesthetic merits of *The Deer Hunter*, as much as to its political stance. Some thought it a great anti-war film, asserting that the negative depiction of the Vietnamese was done chiefly for "dramatic effect," while others thought that the racism of the Vietnam sequences undermined the overall quality of the film. Still others thought it incoherent and poorly made. Speculation abounded as to Michael Cimino's political leanings—his association with Clint Eastwood and John Milius, his stint in Vietnam as a medic with a Green Beret unit, his preoccupation with *machismo* in this and previous scripts, and his alleged plans to do a remake of Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead*.

Actress Julie Christie, a member of the jury, issued her own statement, in which she expressed an opinion held by many. Whatever the subjective politics of the film, she maintained, the reality remains that "a film that portrays the people of a small country that successfully fought a guerrilla war against a huge invading power as a sub-human alien mob is encouraging just that sort of racism that allows the war to happen in the first place."

The Deer Hunter debate didn't keep from notice a number of excellent films in the Berlin Festival. The Golden Bear was awarded to

David, a moving, sensitive, if slow subjective study of a young Jewish man and his family experiencing the rise of fascism, and eventually attempting to leave Germany when the terrible reality of the Holocaust begins. The film was directed by Peter Lilienthal, one of the pioneers of what is termed "New German Cinema." Lilienthal is a Jew whose family escaped to Latin America.

The Silver Bear went to another film about growing up during World War II, *Alexandria... why?* The protagonist is an Egyptian boy, son of a poor radical, who dreams of Hollywood while a war he and his compatriots never wanted and that can only exploit them, rages around him. This film is vivid, witty and tragic, the work of left director Youssef Chahine. Another film that manages to be highly entertaining as well as sociologically important is *The Marriage of Maria Braun*, one of R.W. Fassbinder's best film's. Hanna Schygulla, who won the Best Actress award, is brilliant as a young German bride who learns, again during World War II, to be a predator—always, however, faithful in her fashion to her first-missing and then-jailed husband.

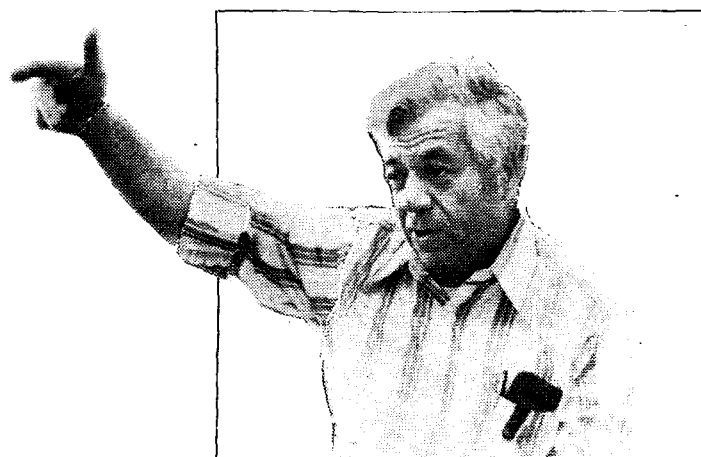
Other good films in competition were *Kassbach*, by Patzak (Austria), an acid study of a present-day fascist; *Ernesto*, by Salvatore Samperi (Italy), a satiric portrait of a turn-of-the-century teenage sell-out—a young Jewish socialist bisexual who marries a rich girl to please his family, hurting in the process two lovers, an Italian worker and the girl's twin brother; Jeanne Moreau's *Teenager*, about a 12-year-old girl on a visit with her mother to her shamanistic grandmother in the beautiful Auvergne province, who falls in love with a man who loves her mother (the man is Jewish, and Hitler is about to invade Poland); *The Emperor*, Josta Hagelback's sensitive and terrifying story of a young Polish worker's return from Sweden to his native land, and his gradual retreat from reality; Werner Herzog's almost shot-by-shot tribute to Murnau, *Nosferatu*, which manages to retain the romantic expressionism of the original, while adding touches of grotesque Herzogian humor (Count Dracula slurps when he's drinking blood!). A major disappointment was Alain Tanner's *Messidor*, a long and tedious film about two young women dropouts who, at first innocently, fall afoul of the law.

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ST 19

BOOKS

New Left memories reflect weaknesses of the "Movement"

By Al Richmond

THEY SHOULD HAVE SERVED THAT CUP OF COFFEE: 7 Radicals Remember the '60s

Edited by Dick Cluster
South End Press, Boston, 1979, \$5

The cup of coffee in the title is the one that wasn't served to four black college freshmen at a Woolworth counter in Greensboro, N.C., on Feb. 1, 1960. In these recollections of the radical movements of the '60s by seven active participants, first place is accorded to the Civil Rights Movement (via an interview with Bernice Reagon, focused on Albany, Ga.) as "the burning struggle" of all the others. Next comes an interview with Reggie Schell, former Black Panther leader in Philadelphia, and an analytical essay by Ernie Allen on the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit. Thus, almost all of the first half of the volume is concerned with black liberation.

The remainder deals with the white student rebellion and the anti-war movement (Dick Cluster), GIs against the war (Steve Rees), and the Women's Liberation Movement. The latter heading blankets Ann Popkin's vivid description of the Bread and Roses organization in Boston and Leslie Cagan's personal odyssey through many places and many political involvements, culminating in the avowal of lesbianism.

The form varies. There are interviews in which the first-person

narrative is accentuated and essays that subordinate the personal element to general description and analysis. I suppose it is reflective of male and female roles as they persist among radicals, that four of the five essays are by men and two of the three interview subjects are women. Nonetheless, the variety of styles and perspectives, as well as of experiences, serves well in a multi-dimensional recreation of the temper of the '60s and an assessment of the decade's politics.

Virtually all the contributors convey the excitement of discovering the old truth that the first reward of enlistment in the struggle for social emancipation is a sense of personal liberation. Different shadings of emphasis are suggestive.

I learned that I did have a life to give for what I believed. Lots of people don't know that; they feel they don't have anything. When you understand that you do have a life, you do have a body, and you can put them on the line, it gives you a sense of power. So I was empowered by the Civil Rights Movement. (Bernice Reagon)

In most basic terms, what the Movement provided for me was a sense of purpose and a feeling of community which had been missing from my life before then. (Dick Cluster)

At the end Cluster provides a five-page, four-point "Conclusion," addressed to the question, "So what?" This is not a summary and even less is it an attempt

at a critical overview of radicalism in the '60s. An overview would have helped.

For example, the Movement is used as a generic term, but what actually comes through from the several contributions is the extent to which there was no Movement, but rather several movements with loose and fluctuating affinities. We are confronted with parts that do not make a whole, and attempts to analyze the parts are severely limited without an effort to assess the consequences of what's missing. Thus, for all its insights, the analysis of the decline of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers centers on internal contradictions, structural defects, and leadership lapses, in isolation from the radical context and its influence on both the League's birth and demise.

On a continuing political plane another problem arises. An important legacy of the '60s is the insistence on the autonomy of

mass movements, especially those directed against deeply rooted and institutionalized forms of oppression. This is a valid and necessary insistence, but in itself autonomy can be a mixed blessing. Human atomization is a feature of this society, as is the fragmentation of the potential opposition to its rules and rulers. Autonomous movements are mirror reflections of that fragmentation, and in the absence of a force that can both respect and transcend their autonomous existence, they tend to reinforce the prevalent fragmentation, whether it's along ethnic, sex or other lines.

In his conclusion Cluster touches on the missing link—class; but in the body of the volume, reflecting the new radicalism of the '60s, race and sex are conspicuous, whereas class is conspicuous only by its absence, except in the essay on the Revolutionary Black Workers, and even there, as Ernie Allen notes, the relationship be-

tween "black" and "workers" was uncertain and ambiguous.

The point is not, as Cluster observes, that "the New Left certainly did not solve the question of the relationship of the class conflict to other conflicts in the society," but that for most of the decade it was hardly aware that this was the question that required solution. When the New Left finally began to confront the question, both it and the decade were on the wane. By then the awareness was too late to serve the New Left's own viability, but this awareness, joined with all the significant insights and achievements of the radicalism of the '60s, can serve, as Cluster says, to advance the continuing struggle for creation of a viable, mass, revolutionary movement to transform American society.

Al Richmond is the former editor of *The People's World* and author of *A Long View from the Left*.



Civil rights protesters refuse to leave a lunch counter in Birmingham.

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CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND SOCIAL JUSTICE—April 7 & 8, Harvard University. See our ad elsewhere in this issue for details, or call 212/260-3270, 617/498-2075, 617/426-9026. Democratic Socialist Organizing Comm., Radcliffe Union of Students.

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MUSIC

Is jazz back? It never left

By Derk Richardson

The notion that "jazz is back" has become popular currency over the past year. *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Rolling Stone* covers and headlines have proclaimed the return of jazz to the American music scene. "Jazz concerts can draw like rockers," trumpets a recent *Billboard* headline.

Jazz is not returning from the dead, however. Even though it was overshadowed by the ascent of rock'n'roll in the '60s, jazz never went away. "There was a lot of recording going on during the '60s," trumpeter Ted Curson has said, "but there just wasn't any work or exposure."

Now a new audience is developing for jazz. According to Carl Jefferson, president of the independent Concord Jazz label, "More and more people are becoming bored with three-chord music," and are searching for a "more sophisticated" sound. And many rock devotees have been stimulated by the "fusion" music of Chick Corea and John McLaughlin, for instance, to listen to the musical precedents in Miles Davis, Coltrane and Mingus. There seem to be growing aud-

iences for straight-ahead music, in both "three-chord" rock and "sophisticated" jazz.

Along with a wider audience has come a deeper respect for the cultural and musical heritage of jazz. During last summer's afternoon of jazz on the White House lawn, Jimmy Carter acknowledged that fact: "If the United States ever had an indigenous art form, I would say it was jazz."

Since the late '60s, and not without considerable struggle, many colleges and universities have added black music courses or departments. Rutgers has an Institute of Jazz Studies. Such artists as Max Roach, Jaki Byard and Donald Byrd have been teaching jazz at academic institutions. The Berklee College of Music in Boston, which educates musicians through the study and performance of jazz, has grown dramatically over the past decade. Administrator Robert Share notes that the school's international student body has grown from 440 full-time students in 1967 to 2600 now. Rather than being reborn as a pop music trend, jazz may be consolidating its position as Afro-American classical music.

In one very real sense, however, jazz is literally returning to



Milestone Jazz stars artists' (left to right: Ron Carter, Sonny Rollins, McCoy Tyner). Their acoustic jazz concerts have been adventurous and rewarding.

the U.S. After a decade of self-imposed exile in Europe, several major jazz musicians have recently toured or resettled in the U.S.

In the early '60s, disheartened by their second-class musical and racial situation, such jazz artists as Ben Webster, Dexter Gordon, Randy Weston, Ted Curson and Johnny Griffin left the U.S. Saxophonist Griffin, who left in 1962, recently explained to critic Leonard Feather that in Europe "the way people treated black musicians—or jazz musicians in general—was comparable to the respect they accord to classical artists."

Then, in 1976 and '77, tenor giant Dexter Gordon toured American jazz clubs, garnered an ecstatic reception and was almost immediately signed by Columbia records. Others, including Weston, Curson and Griffin have also returned to a warm, often exuberant homecoming. "It has been overwhelming—almost like a dream," Johnny Griffin told Feather. "I had forgotten how well American audiences could react."

The jazz-club scene thrives in major cities, including new musical frontiers for jazz like Phoenix and Seattle. San Francisco's Keystone Korner frequently fills the house for week-long engagements of artists ranging from Earl Hines and Mary Lou Williams to Archie Shepp and Cecil Taylor.

The concert hall circuit is proving to be viable as well. For the past three years Pablo Records has successfully toured its "mainstream" allstars, Oscar Peterson, Ella Fitzgerald and Count Basie. In 1977, the V.S.O.P. Quintet, a recreation of the classic mid-'60s Miles Davis group (Herbie Han-

cock, Ron Carter, Tony Williams, Wayne Shorter, with Freddie Hubbard taking the trumpet spot), played to sold-out auditoriums and outdoor amphitheaters in the U.S. and Japan. More recently, the Milestone Jazzstars—Sonny Rollins, McCoy Tyner, Ron Carter and Frank Foster—put together the most musically adventurous and rewarding major concert tour of acoustic jazz to date.

Gordon, Griffin, Curson as well as Max Roach, Art Blakey and Woody Shaw are updating and personalizing the driving, rhythmic hard-bop of the '50s. The scope of big band music is being expanded dramatically by the Akiyoshi-Tabackin unit. A cool, jazz-classical hybrid is being cultivated by Keith Jarrett, Ralph Towner and a host of European artists. And the explorations of Anthony Braxton, Air, the Academy for the Advancement of Creative Music and musicians of the New York "loft" scene are bringing new vitality to the abstractions of the avant-garde.

Will success spoil it?

Compared to the recent past, record sales are booming, which both proves and threatens the jazz resurgence. The past few years have seen a proliferation of independent record labels and companies devoted entirely to jazz. Inner City, Pablo, Muse, Xanadu and Concord are all independents that have established themselves and continue to grow by producing straight-forward, uncompromised jazz. Reissues of important out-of-print recordings on Prestige, Bethlehem and Contemporary find their way to a hungry audience, and such artists

as Marian McPartland, Mary Lou Williams and Carla Bley have carved a significant niche with artist-owned labels.

Despite the viability of such small labels as Improvising Artists, Nessa and Artists House, committed to innovative, challenging music, however, the vast majority of *Billboard*'s Top 50 Jazz LPs are on such conglomerate labels as Columbia, Warner Brothers, Elektra and United Artists, and the consolidation is accelerating. A&M Records just entered a distribution deal with RCA, and ABC Records (with the great Impulse catalog of the '60s) was recently acquired by the MCA Corporation.

This tendency threatens the jazz market on two fronts. First, the economies of scale reinforce the large corporations' hold on the market. (In late 1978, independent Xanadu Records announced that after three-and-a-half years of operation, only one-fifth of its catalog sold enough to receive royalties.) Moreover, when, for good reason, such "big names" as Dexter Gordon, Freddie Hubbard and Herbie Hancock sign with the giant labels, huge chunks of profit potential are removed from the reach of the independent companies, whose artists, however talented, remain unheralded and underpaid.

The second front is artistic. Crudely put, recording conglomerates are more likely to pressure their artists for more commercial records. As Concord's Carl Jefferson observes, "The major marketers try to manufacture new products every month or so." The best-selling "jazz" albums are by fusion musicians: Weather Report, Grover Washington Jr., Ronnie Laws. And while Pat Metheny, Weather Report, and a few other groups retain the creativity of jazz improvisation, most "fusion" music is a faceless, mongrelized sound.

Jefferson argues that the chief danger from the commercialization of jazz lies in "turning people around to sell 10,000 more albums." One need only listen to the fusion failures of Gary Bartz or Freddie Hubbard, or the pure pop of George Benson, Tom Scott or Chuck Mangione to see how far people can be turned around.

More aggressive marketing and enhanced exposure help bring attention to the music as a whole. And commercial acceptability does not automatically mean corruption or selling out, as the continued brilliance of Dexter Gordon's music attests. And although trivialization for the sake of profit remains a threat, jazz musicians—with an ear to traditional forms—continually jettison conventional structures. Whatever the pressures, jazz will survive; even with a long history of self-support, the music never went away.

Marking

I begin each essay with a calm mind—a fresh start.

But as I consider what they have written I get angry: the most cursory of rereadings would have caught this sentence fragment, and here is a misused semicolon after we spent more than an hour on that in class and where I talked to this student individually for another thirty minutes about this persistent mistake. And instead of the simple structure of the expository paper which we have also gone over and over and which can be so helpful a model, a technique, a guide, here again is a jumbled series of random observations: shapeless, trite, contradictory, obviously hurried and spelled wrong.

My red pencil becomes enraged. It stalks through the words, precise, bitter, vindictive, acting as if it is pleased to discover error and pounce on it, hacking and destroying and rearranging, furiously rooting out sloppiness and weakness as though upholding some stern moral precept against another, softer age.

But the hand gripping the pencil begins to tremble with remorse. It feels it has led the students on to try to express themselves and then betrayed them: attacking what they have exposed of their ideas and emotions. What use is righteousness, the hand wishes to ask the pencil, without charity?

I read the name at the top and think of the young person whose effort this is. Now all I see on the paper is a face, crestfallen when I hand back what they attempted. Their eyes look up at me apprehensively, as at a judge. We both know my weighing of their skill will be taken to be an assessment of themselves.

It is as though I have been asked to mark not their essays but their faces, not their sentences but who they are. I raise my pencil, but my hand still shakes. I want to show them what in normal English usage is considered incorrect. But I cannot assign a grade to their eyes.

—Tom Wayman

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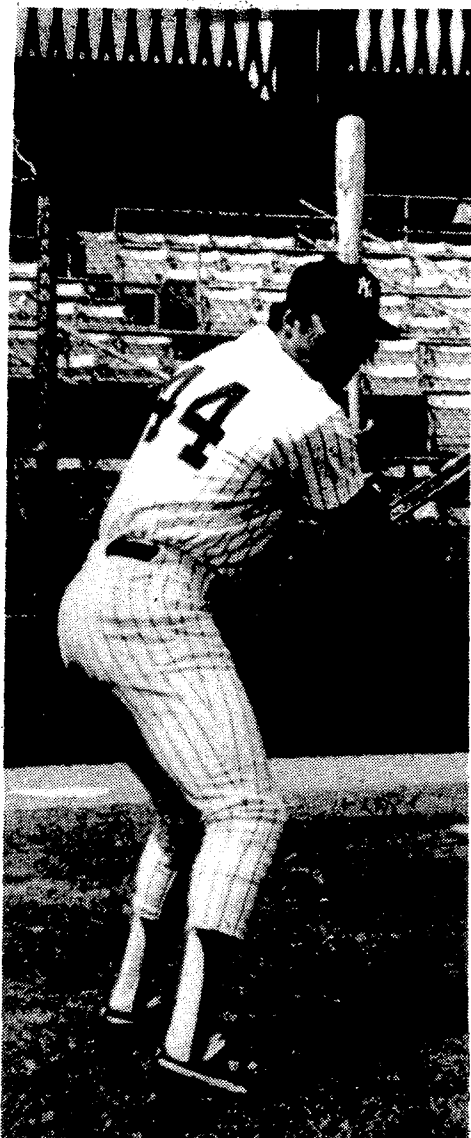
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"I T'S A LITTLE BOYS' game with men playing it," says Los Angeles Dodger Dusty Baker at the Ft. Lauderdale Stadium spring training base. "You have to have the mental control and strength and stamina of a man, but you gotta have the desire of a little boy."

There is no better place to watch ball-players acting like little boys having a good time than around the batting cage. The hitters step in to bunt the first pitch, then take a specified number of swings and finally run out the last hit. BP—as the players call batting practice—is a time when players show off their batting prowess and engage in verbal swagger.

At the New York Yankee batting cage, Mickey Rivers, the hyperactive Yankee center fielder jokes, "A man of my caliber don't bunt."

"Single up the middle," Rivers declares as he smacks a ground ball. Teammate Chris Chambliss disagrees: "Double play." A moment later, Chambliss complains that the pitcher isn't giving him anything to hit but gets no sympathy from Rivers. "We know it's a bad pitch," Mickey said, "but I hit all kinds."

Coach Yogi Berra takes some verbal abuse when he becomes confused about who should hit or how much time remains. "Hey Lou," yells Graig Nettles to teammate Lou Piniella. "Read Yogi's watch for him."

Complaints fly that the batting practice pitchers are throwing too fast, too slow or are too wild, and especially when the pitchers are replaced by machines called Iron Mike.

"They got 80 fuckin' pitchers in camp and 78 of them got sore arms," says Piniella, a disciplined hitter who says he needs to go against a real pitcher to perfect his stroke. Piniella can spend an en-

RITE OF SPRING

By Marc Gunther and Warren Goldstein

tire morning adjusting his stance or experimenting with the way he holds the bat.

BP is a microcosm of all spring training because success can be trumpeted and mistakes—which don't count anyway—forgotten.

"This is the only time it doesn't mean anything," says veteran Paul Blair. "This is the only time we really can have fun. We can just go out and be carefree and fancy free."

The Writers.

The writers drift into an office in the Yankee clubhouse where manager Bob Lemon sits behind his desk after the game, waiting patiently for the inevitable question: "So what did you think of Mirabella?"—Paul Mirabella, the rookie pitching phenomenon. In no hurry, Lemon waits and replies with a smile. "I'm going to wait until all you cocksuckers get in here, so I only have to say it once."

A 58-year-old slow-talking man, Lemon finally perks up when Yankee president Al Rosen—who brought Mirabella to the team—walks in. "Hey, Rosen, what'd you think of Mirabella today?" asks Lem.

"I don't know, do you like him, Henry?" Rosen asks Henry Hecht of the *New York Post*. A manic, chirpy, fast-talking New Yorker, Hecht retorts: "Me? What do I know? I'm just a dumb sportswriter." But Rosen wasn't through. "What'll you say when he gets his jock knocked

off?" Hecht: "I'll say that Al Rosen made a lousy trade."

Does Lemon ever get tired of answering the same questions day after day? "Damn right I do. Same fucking questions. I ought to make a tape."

"You can never have enough pitching." (Yankee coach Tom Morgan) "If I stay ahead of the hitters and concentrate, I should do all right." (Mirabella) "They're all professionals. They know how to win." (Lemon) Baseball's immense storehouse of clichés helps players get through the hundreds of interviews they give during a season that stretches over six months.

Those who take risks are sometimes sorry afterwards. "Some of the things that were written in New York, some of the things that came out, it was even new for me to learn how to handle it or to be able to foresee the context beforehand," says Reggie Jackson, in a reflective mood. "That is very difficult to do."

Players and writers share a camaraderie. They watch games together, travel together and stay in the same hotels. Their lives are ordered by baseball.

Henry Hecht always seems to be hanging around with the players, chatting, joking, even bullying them. Outfielder Oscar Gamble of the Texas Rangers, a popular former Yankee whose multi-million dollar contract and poor showing at the plate last year drew criticism, is warmly welcomed back to Fort Lauderdale by Hecht. "Hey Oscar, lend me a million, will ya,"



the sportswriter yells as he runs across the field to greet his friend with a jab in the stomach. Gamble loves it.

But once inside the press box, few of the writers seem to watch the game closely; their near-indifference creates a striking contrast with the vocal excitement of the crowds. Blair makes a beautiful running catch, his back to the plate. One writer remarks that he hasn't seen Blair make an error in 15 years. Another says he saw one last year. For the press box that's a substantial reaction.

The Yankees are trailing Texas, 2-0, and rally in the bottom of the ninth. By then, most of the writers have already composed the first couple of paragraphs of their stories. Cliff Johnson singles in the tying run: grumbling up and down the line of writers. The luck holds—the home team loses in the tenth and their story leads are intact.

The Superstar.

Reginald Martinez Jackson stands apart, impossible to ignore. Jackson is everything he's reputed to be: hero, performer, braggart, troublemaker. He also believes himself to be a thinker and is often surrounded by a knot of reporters who hang onto his every word.

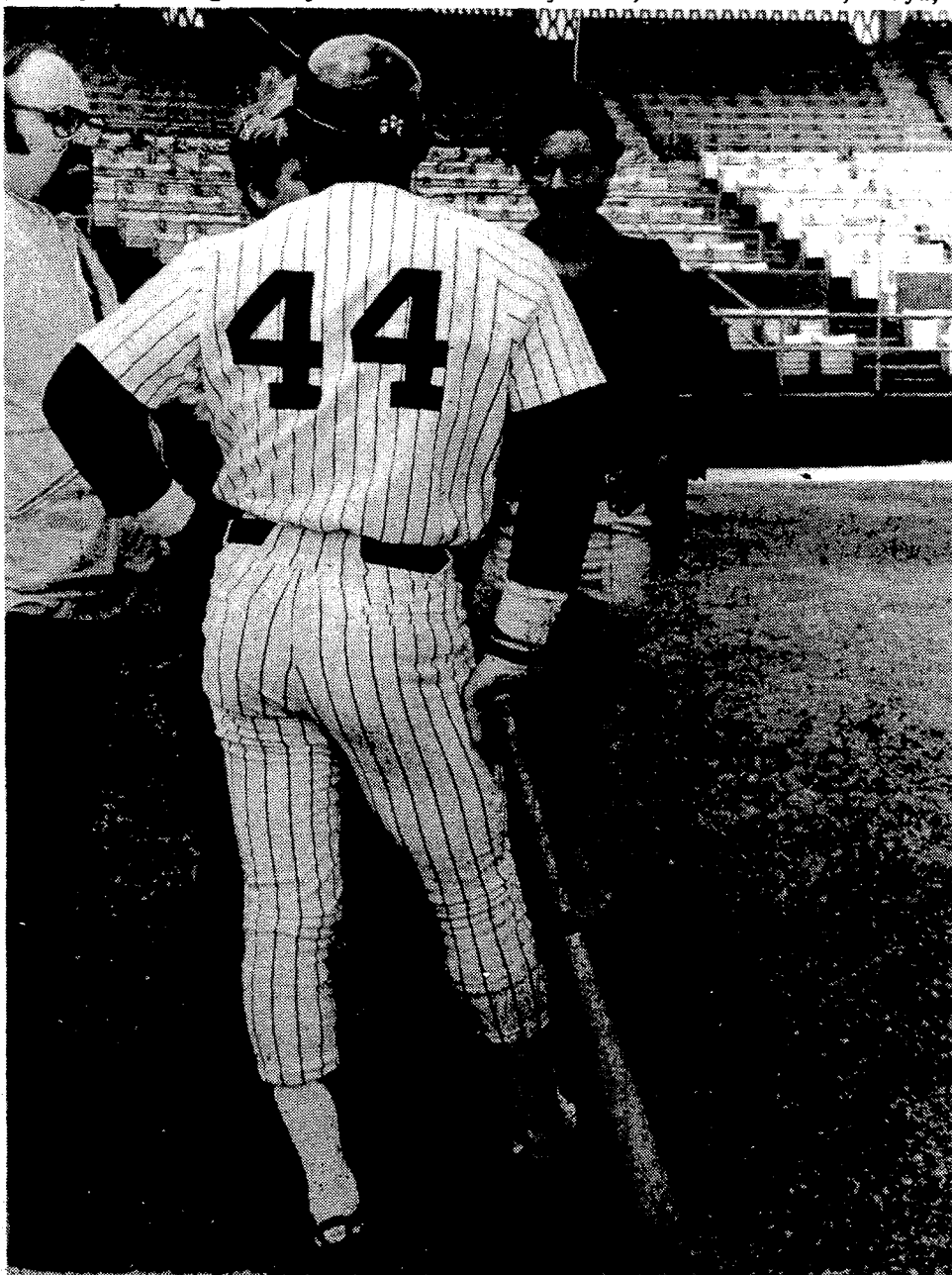
Reggie on Sparky Lyle's *The Bronx Zoo*, which is hard on him: "It really doesn't bother me. It has no significance. In five years I'll be gone. Who cares?"

Reggie cares. The next day, he sits silently in front of his locker reading excerpts from the book. He was generous and charming earlier in the day. Now he turns cold and surly.

Reggie's ego is immense. But he wants to be liked: "I went over to Miami (to play the Baltimore Orioles) and got a nice ovation. It was a nice feeling."

And Reggie wants to be accepted: "I'm trying to impress ABC that I'm a good fella and I'm trying to sell candy." Reggie knows it isn't going to be easy: "Hell, I'm not perfect. Maybe I'm an asshole some days."

Continued on page 19.



Reggie Jackson, Superstar.